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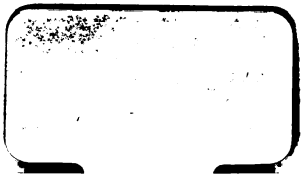

WISE WORDS

AND QUAINT COUNSELS

OF

THOMAS FULLER

JESSOPP

London
HENRY FROWDE
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Wise Words and Quaint Counsels of Thomas Fuller

SELECTED AND ARRANGED

WITH A SHORT SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE

BY

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.

RECTOR OF SCARNING, NORFOLK

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PREFACE

THE writings of Thomas Fuller had become almost forgotten when, at the beginning of the present century, Coleridge and Charles Lamb set themselves to claim for them a foremost place in English literature. Since then Fuller has been 'a name to swear by' among all cultured classes; but the very large surface over which Fuller's works extend makes it impossible for any but the favoured few to possess them or to acquire anything like a familiar acquaintance with them as a whole. The present volume is intended therefore as a convenient treasure-house for such as may wish to form some estimate of Fuller's genius and who have not the time to give to a general survey of his voluminous and very unequal writings. Though the *Church History* and the *Worthies* must live as long as the English language lives, only oblivion can be expected for much else that Fuller published in his lifetime. There are books that must die and be forgotten though they be written by the greatest and most gifted. The attempt to resuscitate these and to win for them a perennial acceptance can only

end

end in disappointment for such as would fain put too high a value upon the *obiter dicta* or the *obiter scripta* of every giant of literature. Meanwhile it is well to rescue here and there a precious thought from the wrapping of commonplace in which it has been hidden, just as men gather grains of gold when the earth or the mire has been washed away from them.

A. J.

SCARNING:
24 *May*, 1892.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS FULLER

THOMAS FULLER was the son of a clergyman of the same name, by Judith, widow of James Payne and daughter of John Davenant, a citizen of London and a man of considerable wealth, of which doubtless his daughter received her share. Fuller's father was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and, on leaving the University, was presented to the Rectory of Aldwinkle St. Peter, in Northamptonshire, the next parish to Achurch. Of Achurch the notorious Robert Browne, the separatist, was rector during the last forty years of his life, and with him and his family Fuller was brought into intimate relations in boyhood and early manhood.

The fact of Fuller's father having been a Fellow of Trinity is a sufficient proof that he was a man of more than ordinary ability. From his mother, too, he must have inherited a great deal of his intellectual power, and he very early attracted the special notice of his uncle John Davenant, who became Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in Cambridge the year after Fuller was born, and in 1614 was appointed Master of Queens' College, then, as now, a position of more honour than emolument.

Fuller was baptized at Aldwinkle on the 19th June, 1608, that is, he was born just six months before Milton. He had

few

few of those advantages of early training which so powerfully influence a man's career in life. He was never at any school except the village school of Aldwinkle. What little scholarly teaching he received was at the hands of his father, and it was probably at the suggestion of his uncle that he was sent up to Queens' College, Cambridge, when he had just completed his thirteenth year (29 June 1621), and placed under the tuition of a cousin, Edward Davenant, for whom his uncle the Master had procured a Fellowship in the College some time before. Under Edward Davenant the boy soon did much to retrieve what little loss he may have suffered in his early teaching, and he took his M.A. degree on the 1st July, 1628, with some credit and not without being noticed as the youngest Master of Arts in the University. But he was evidently not up to the higher standard required for election to a Fellowship. His uncle, now Bishop Davenant, did his best for him, and wrote strong letters in his favour. After being twice passed over at Queens' he migrated to Sidney Sussex College and entered as a Fellow Commoner. But here again he was disappointed, and he never became Fellow of his College, though he lived, like Milton and Brian Walton and Bishop Hall and Henry Wharton and many another intellectual giant, to win for himself a high place in his country's literature, from which his more successful competitors for academical honours have been for ever shut out.

There is some reason for believing that Fuller was ordained by his uncle Bishop Davenant before the canonical age. Be that as it may, he was certainly presented in 1630 to the perpetual curacy of St. Benet's, Cambridge, by the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College; and here he began

began his life as a working clergyman and soon obtained some reputation as a preacher. If his own words admit of such an interpretation—'I must thankfully confess myself once *a member at large* of this house'—Fuller with this little piece of preferment obtained the advantage of free access to the incomparable Library of Antiquarian MSS. which Archbishop Parker had bequeathed to the College; and there is abundant evidence that during the next seven or eight years which he spent in Cambridge he made diligent use of his opportunities of study.

Like many a man of genius, Fuller made his first venture as an author by publishing in verse. The book was entitled 'David's Hainous Sinne, heartie repentance, heavie punishment.' It is wretched doggerel, and gave no promise of any literary power on the part of its author. It was printed in London by T. Cotes, who printed an edition of Shakespeare's *Pericles*, and some of the Early Poems of Francis Quarles, James Shirley, and Beaumont and Fletcher, together with many more books, some of which have lived and some are forgotten.

If Fuller offered the little volume to the Cambridge printers they would have nothing to do with it.

In June 1631 Fuller, being then just twenty-three years old, was presented by his uncle to the prebend of Netherbury in ecclesia in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. It was a valuable piece of preferment, though robbed of its revenues during the Commonwealth days; and he held it till his death. He appears to have held St. Benet's till July 1633, and next year he became rector of Broadwindsor, in Dorsetshire. This living too was given to him by Bishop Davenant. Fuller spent the next seven years at his benefice, diligently pursuing his

his studies and apparently refreshing himself by occasional visits to Cambridge. In June 1635 he went through the usual exercises and proceeded to the B.D. degree, attended by some of his parishioners. He married, about the year 1638, a lady whose family name is unknown, but whose Christian name was Ellen. It is a mere guess which has conjectured her to have been one of the Seymours of Dorset.

In 1639 Fuller brought out his first important work, *The History of the Holy War*. It is a history of the Crusades, in five books, the last of which he calls the *supplement* as containing less of history than comment. It was published in folio with several illustrations, a curious map, and some valuable and elaborate chronological tables at the end, and was printed by Roger Daniel, the Cambridge printer, in 1639. A second edition was issued the next year, and it continued to be a very popular book till the great wave of the Rebellion passed over the land. After Fuller's death it shared the fate of much of the literature of the time. With the Restoration a new and vicious taste came in which could not relish the strong meat that the great men of a previous generation were wont to assimilate.

The reception which the *Holy War* met with, and the reputation which it immediately made for its author, probably led to Fuller's being chosen Proctor to Convocation, next year, for the diocese of Bristol. In this Convocation too sat Peter Heylin, the Oxford High Churchman, as Fuller was the Cambridge Puritan. The two divines were sure to disagree and be opposed to one another. They were both men of capacious memory, witty, learned and omnivorous readers; but Heylin was essentially an academic, with the critical faculty stimulated to the point of censoriousness,

censoriousness, and that sort of obstinate aggressiveness which gave an air of personal bitterness to his controversial writings. Fuller was rather a man of letters than a mere scholar, with such a genial and joyous temperament, that there was an air of gaiety about his very seriousness. He had no rancour in his composition; and when, years later, Heylin attacked him waspishly, like the good hater that he was, Fuller showed his magnanimity by going to his antagonist in his retirement and blindness at Abingdon, and almost compelling Heylin to become his friend. Both these men wrote their reminiscences of this memorable Convocation, each from his own point of view. It was inevitable that there should be divergences in the two Reports, and he who would understand the Church feelings of the time, and the force of the two currents of opinion that were running, must read both Reports and harmonise or reconcile them as he can.

Fuller's election as Proctor to Convocation brought him up to London, and introduced him to a new circle of acquaintance. He was only thirty-two years of age, and he had all those personal gifts and intellectual accomplishments which are sure to make a young man admired and sought after. Of course he became a popular preacher, and he thought it worth while to publish a volume of sermon notes —they are no more—under the title of *Joseph's Party-coloured Coat*, which was printed in London in 1640, but seems to have been received somewhat coldly.

The book has lately been reprinted and included among *Fuller's Collected Sermons*, which were very ably edited by the late Mr. J. Eglinton Bailey and completed by Mr. W. E. A. Axon in 1891; but it is impossible to speak of it in heroics. It is Fuller's, and therefore, of course, it contains some

some good sayings—some shrewd wit, some sparkling sentences—but it leaves an unpleasant impression upon the reader. The preacher is wonderfully clever and makes an astonishing number of *points*, but the notes are pulpit fireworks; though one hopes that while delivering them the real earnestness of the man may have come out in the living warmth which he may have breathed into these somewhat lifeless skeletons. One of Fuller's most successful exploits in the trick of alliteration is to be found in this book. Speaking of the effects of Holy Baptism he says '. . . though the *bane* be *re*moved the *blot* doth *re*main, the guilt is *re*mitted, the *blem*ish *re*tained; the *sti*ng is gone the *sta*in doth *sta*y; which if not consented to, cannot *da*mn this infant, though it may *de*file.'

Other instances of whimsical affectations are the following:—

'Woful was the estate of the world when one could not see God for gods.'

'They are justly to be reproved which lately have changed all hearty expressions of love into verbal compliments—which etymology is not to be deduced *a completione mentis* but *a complete mentiri* (!)'

'The number seven is most remarkable in holy writ and passeth for the emblem of perfectness or completeness; as well it may, consisting of a Unity in the middle, guarded and attended by a Trinity on either side.'

The Long Parliament met in November 1640, and in the following April the clergy who had been members of the Convocation were heavily fined. Fuller's fine was set at £200, but it was never exacted. About the same time his uncle Bishop Davenant died, and a little later a son

was

was born to him, who was baptized at Broadwindsor on the 6th June. This same summer he had the unhappiness of losing his wife. Then came the 'suppression' of Episcopacy and of the cathedral chapters, with the confiscation of the incomes of the bishops and clergy concerned; and Fuller, finding himself in straitened circumstances, removed to London, leaving his people at Broadwindsor in the charge of a representative who managed to hold the benefice till the Restoration, while he himself was soon elected by the Master and Brotherhood of the Savoy Chapel to be their Lecturer or Chaplain.

From this time (1642) till his death, Fuller must have depended largely upon his pen for his subsistence. It has been said that he was the first clergyman who earned a living by literature. This is certainly not the case. Bishop Hall's writings sold much more largely than Fuller's; and after having been plundered in the most outrageous way, Hall kept up a certain state in his retirement at Norwich, and dispensed his charities with a very open hand, though he had a large family to support. Bishop Hall had a far larger public who read his books than Fuller could ever have commanded, and the sale of those books was rapid and continuous.

Fuller held his Preachership at the Savoy for about a year, during which he was frequently called upon to preach on memorable occasions. He was very outspoken in the pulpit, and made no secret of his loyalty to the King. The last of these sermons, and the most important, entitled *A Sermon of Reformation*, was preached at the Savoy on the 27th July, 1643, and published on the 2nd August. It was probably suggested by Milton's Treatise on the same subject,

subject, which had appeared two years before. The sermon is, like all Fuller's pulpit efforts, entirely deficient in anything approaching eloquence of a lofty character; but it provoked an attack from a certain John Saltmarsh, a Cambridge man and *Minister* of Hestlerton in Yorkshire. Saltmarsh's pamphlet reached Fuller's hands in September; but before that time he had been driven out of London by the Parliamentarians, and had, with many others, betaken himself to Oxford. Before this, however, Fuller had published what is perhaps his most beautiful and characteristic work, *The Holy and the Profane State.* It is divided into five books. The first two are concerned with the Holy State as it exhibits itself (1) in the family, (2) the business of life; the third book lays down certain general rules of conduct 'placed in the middle,' he says, 'that the books on both sides may reach equally to them because all persons therein are indifferently concerned'; while the fourth is an attempt to set forth the duties of those who, as courtiers, judges, bishops, ambassadors, &c., are called upon to occupy prominent positions in the Commonwealth. The last book, on the Profane State, is very inferior to the other four, and consists of a very miscellaneous collection of unpleasant biographies and scarcely less disagreeable introductory essays, which bear every sign of having been hurried over to bring the book up to the necessary number of pages. The volume was printed at Cambridge in 1642. From no work of Fuller's have so many brilliant passages been extracted which it has been thought advisable to insert in the following pages.

While Fuller was at Oxford he lodged at Lincoln College, but his reception among the Royalists was not as cordial as

he

he might reasonably have expected; he felt the expense of living in the town very burdensome; he was looked upon by the extremists as a lukewarm supporter of the cause, and he gave much offence by a sermon which he preached before the King at St. Mary's on the 10th May, 1644, being the day of the Public Fast. Before the delivery of this sermon, however, he had thrown in his lot with Sir Ralph Hopton, and appears to have attended that ablest of all the Royalist commanders in the capacity of Chaplain for at least some months.

In the autumn of this year we find him at Exeter, where the Queen was delivered of her fourth child, the Princess Henrietta, and Fuller was appointed Chaplain to the new-born infant by Charles I. At Exeter he continued to reside for the next two or three years, working hard at the composition of his *Worthies*, and in the meantime publishing his *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*, which were first printed at Exeter; though the book was also issued in London and a third edition was called for the very next year. A little later he put forth his *Life of Andronicus*, which in its original, and much shorter, form had appeared as the closing piece of biography in the *Profane State*. It is the only work of Fuller's that deserves to be called a very dull and purposeless performance. Yet for some reason or other it was a very successful book; no less than four editions were called for in three years, and it was actually translated into Dutch in 1659.

Before the year 1645 had closed, it was becoming apparent to all men of any foresight that the Royal cause was hopeless, and the Parliamentarians began to receive the adhesion of one after another of the nobility and gentry. Such men were Edward, second Lord Montagu of Boughton,

Sir

Sir John Danvers of Chelsea, James Hay second Earl of Carlisle, and Lionel Cranfield third Earl of Middlesex. Fuller managed to ingratiate himself with all these, and received substantial assistance from them all during the remainder of his life. Early in 1646 Lord Montagu offered him a home in his magnificent mansion at Boughton, and it was here that he wrote his tract *The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience*, which he dedicated to the Countess of Rutland, Lord Montagu's sister. It is a somewhat dreary production in the form of a dialogue between Timotheus an enquirer and Philologus his friend and adviser. One paragraph only —but that a very beautiful one—from this work will be found in this volume, at p. 178. Shortly afterwards appeared *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, which may be accepted as a continuation of the *Good Thoughts in Bad Times* printed at Exeter in 1645. The book is divided into four parts—'Personal Meditations,' 'Scriptural Observations,' 'Meditations on the Times,' and 'All kind of Prayers'—and is rich in striking passages which indicate that he had felt the bitterness and pathos of those tumults and tragic events in which he had been compelled to take a part during the course of the last five years. Of all Fuller's books this had the widest circulation, and appears to have been used as a kind of Devotional Manual by all classes even to the close of the seventeenth century.

While he was under the protection of Lord Montagu, Fuller paid frequent visits to London, making friends among the London merchants, with whom he seems to have been a great favourite. For a little while he was Lecturer in Lombard Street, then at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, at St. Dunstan's in the East, and elsewhere: but it was unsatisfactory

factory work, not unattended with a certain amount of risk; for Fuller had been for a short time one of the 'Silenced ministers.' Several of Fuller's sermons of this period were printed; they are all very scarce, especially the *Sermon of Contentment*, which was preached in Sir John Danvers' chapel at Chelsea, as was the sermon entitled *The Just Man's Funeral*, delivered on the occasion of the King's death in January 1649. About this time Lord Carlisle presented him with the perpetual curacy of Waltham Abbey, a benefice, if it deserved to be called by such a name, which Bishop Hall had accepted some forty years before, and had held till he was promoted to the Deanery of Worcester in 1616. Here Fuller was within an easy distance of London; here he had the run of Sion College Library; and besides this he had large command of books which were freely placed at his disposal by Lord Middlesex and other friends. At no time of his life was his literary activity more remarkable. In 1650 he published his *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, in folio. The work is a descriptive geography of Palestine, illustrated by no less than twenty-eight double-paged maps, and at the time of its publication was at once accepted as by far the most complete and serviceable account of the Holy Land which had ever appeared. The heavy cost of engraving so many maps and illustrations was borne for the most part by the author's wealthy friends, but even so the volume was an expensive one. Nevertheless three editions were issued during Fuller's lifetime, and to this day it may be consulted with profit by the student, not to speak of the pleasure which its extraordinary wit and literary brilliancy will afford to the general reader. The highest testimonial to the excellence and

thoroughness of the *Pisgah Sight*, as an exhaustive description of the Holy Land and as a comprehensive survey of its historical geography, was borne by the great master of rabbinical learning, Dr. Lightfoot. He had himself been engaged for some years upon a work of the same character, and had made extensive collections for it; but, on the appearance of Fuller's book, he abandoned his own project, convinced that there was no need of going over the ground which had been so well covered by the other.

The *Pisgah Sight* had been published only a few months when Fuller brought out a new and very different volume, entitled *Abel Redivivus*. This is a very miscellaneous collection of biographies, numbering 118 in all, containing 'the lives and deaths of the modern divines, written by several able and learned men.' It was little better than a mere bookseller's venture with Fuller's name as a figure-head. It was published by 'John Stafford dwelling in Bride's Churchyard, near Fleet Street.' Fuller was the *Editor*, and in the Epistle to the Reader he acknowledges to the authorship of seven of the Lives; but he implies by an '&c.' that he wrote some others. Of the rest a few were contributed by Gataker, Dr. Smith, and Mr. Isaacson; the life of Erasmus was written by Dr. Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore. Nine tenths of the Lives 'the stationer got transcribed out of Mr. Holland and other authors.' By 'Mr. Holland' is meant Henry Holland, son of Philemon Holland, the learned but luckless bookseller, who for anything we know to the contrary was probably alive at this time: the transcriptions were made, presumably, from Holland's now forgotten work, *Heroologia Anglica*. The lives of foreign divines appear to have been borrowed from Melchior

Melchior Adam's *Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum*. As a rule there are certain English verses appended at the end of each biography; of these Fuller says that 'the most part of the poetry was done by Master Quarles, father and son, sufficiently known for their abilities therein.' Master Quarles was John Quarles, son of Francis Quarles the author of the *Emblems*; he was at this time a bookseller's hack. 'He wrote many things merely for maintenance sake' says Wood; 'he lived as occasion served,' and 'was esteemed by some a good poet.' Of the son of this man nothing certain is known. The *poetry*, as Fuller calls it, has been characterised by Mr. Nichols as 'arrant doggerel,' and the expression is not too strong. Of Fuller's share in this volume not much need be said. The Lives of Cranmer and Foxe the Martyrologist are far above mediocrity; but Fuller could not put pen to paper without writing some sentences which arrest the reader and astonish him by their brilliancy. For instance, when summing up Cranmer's character, he exclaims: 'O there is more required to make us valiant, than barely to be able to call another "coward".' The *Abel Redivivus* was not reprinted till twenty-five years ago (1867), nor did it deserve to be.

Fuller had taken to himself a second wife early in 1651: this was Mary, daughter of Thomas Viscount Baltinglass, an Irish peer who died in 1637, leaving a son Thomas, who succeeded him, and the daughter, who could have brought Fuller very little, if any, fortune. Fuller was evidently in straitened circumstances about this time, and, though still living at Waltham, was glad enough to officiate as Wednesday Lecturer at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, at which church two years later Dr.—afterwards Bishop—Pearson delivered

his sermons on the Creed, which he eventually published in the form in which we now have them. Fuller published a series of sermons, twelve in number, on Christ's Temptation, delivered in the same church in 1652; and during the next five years he printed no less than nine sets of sermons—among them the very dull and worthless ones professing to be a Commentary on the Book of Ruth, which he had preached at Cambridge when he was twenty-three years old, and now fished up from his desk to turn into money. Of all these sermons those on the Temptation are the only ones possessing any merit as pulpit compositions. They are all pulpit *exercises*, curiously wanting in fire, or even warmth; and bad taste disfigures them painfully. One would have thought that any man in writing down a prayer to the Most High would at any rate *then* have been awed to solemnity of utterance, dignity of language, and earnestness in supplication; but 'Mr. T. F. his Prayer,' composed for use before the delivery of the sermons on the Temptation, though containing passages that are striking and suggestive, contains others that can only be described as meanly rhetorical.

In 1655 Fuller at last brought out the great work by which his name is chiefly remembered. *The Church History of Britain from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year MDCXLVIII* must always remain one of the glories of English literature. It represents the labour of a life-time devoted to original research. It is the achievement of a scholar who had every natural qualification for entering upon so gigantic a task; a vigorous constitution, enormous power of work; a special aptitude for the subsidiary studies of heraldry and genealogy; a peculiar faculty for attracting to himself such friends as could be of real service to him in

gaining

gaining access to libraries and archives of MSS. public and private; a wonderfully quick eye, extraordinary fluency with his pen, a memory that was incapable of forgetting a fact, a quotation or any other impression, unbounded curiosity which kept him always on the alert for every fresh accession of knowledge, and a genuine delight in the pursuit of his self-imposed task. In his power of marshalling his facts and giving to every little incident which he records a sparkle of its own, Fuller has no rival in English literature; but the very fact of his being the gayest and liveliest—not to say the most frolicsome—annalist that the world has ever known has rather detracted from the reputation which is fairly due to him. To Fuller belongs the honour of having been the first who set himself to write the Ecclesiastical History of England since Bede conceived that grand project nine centuries before; and though his light was not as ours is, nor his opportunities as ours are, his *Church History* can never cease to be consulted as a recognised authority by those who come after, nor his name cease to be revered by all who follow his lead in the long and arduous quest of truth.

The *Church History* is a magnificent folio of more than 1300 pages, divided into eleven books, with an appendix constituting the twelfth book which contains the history of Waltham Abbey and of the University of Cambridge. The eleventh book ends with the death of Charles I, of which dreadful event he gives a very pathetic narrative, containing many curious details that are deeply interesting and very valuable as contributions to contemporary history by one who had excellent opportunities of knowing the facts. Of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland he says little or nothing,

nothing, and less of that of Ireland. His dislike of the Scotch was almost as strong as Dr. Johnson's, and his ignorance of the Irish language rendered it impossible for him to pursue researches into the past of a country which, had he had the opportunity, would have possessed for him a great attraction. The first edition of the *Church History* was sold off in a year, and in 1656 a new edition appeared with some corrections. Three years later Heylin issued his '*Examen Historicum*, or a discovery and examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some modern Histories.' It was a waspish and captious attack, and Fuller had no difficulty in meeting it with an elaborate rejoinder which he calls his '*Appeal of Injured Innocence*. . . In a controversy betwixt the Animadvertor—Dr. Peter Heylin and the Author—Thomas Fuller.' This reply has been called the wittiest of Fuller's works, and, in the exuberance of the fun, it may be regarded perhaps as the *drollest*; but the book is obviously meant to turn Heylin into ridicule, and the *wit* is to my mind by no means of a high order. Take as instances the following:—

'When an author tells us what he was told by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Hubbard by Mr. Barlow, Mr. Barlow by Mr. Bust, and Mr. Bust by Sir Henry Saville, it brings to my mind the like pedigree of as true a story, even that of another, Milo in Sir Philip Sidney, telling the young ladies an old tale, "which a good old woman told her, which an old wise man told *her*, which a great learned clerk told *him* and gave it him in writing; and then she had it in her prayer book"; as here our author hath found his in the end of his creed.'

Heylin, objecting to Fuller's introducing the word 'Cistercians'

cians' as a novelty in the place of the more usual phrase 'monks of Cisteaux,' adds: 'And yet our author hath hit it better in his *Cistercians* than Ralph Brooke, York herald, did in his *Sister-senses*. . . .' Fuller replies, 'What is Ralph Brooke's sister-senses, brother-senses, or nonsenses to me? This spends time in writing, money in buying, pains in reading, makes some angry, none more knowing.' . . .

'The Animadvertor here makes a Professor's Chair; and having solemnly set me down therein, puts words into my mouth, and makes an oration for me, as Moderator in the present controversy, with a jeer to boot on my memory of the reverend Dr. Prideaux. But know, there is another chair which David calls "the chair of the scornful," and it is to be feared that the Animadvertor on this point is too near sitting down therein.'

'If the Animadvertor loves to eat both corn and chaff, much good may his diet do him, and let him and horse feed on their loaf together.'

'See! he calleth that *circumventum*, which our dictionaries English "a flat lie," which I have mitigated into "a flam," as importing in common discourse "a falsehood" which hath more of vanity than mischief therein.'

* * * * * *

The *Appeal* was the last book of any importance which Fuller published. The Restoration was approaching, and the only question which presented itself to the minds of all men of foresight and influence was *how* it could be brought about. In the spring of 1660 there was a general movement of the nobility, and of all those who were worshippers of the rising sun, to present themselves at the Hague, and to pay their court to the King. Foremost among these was Fuller,

Fuller, coming in the same ship with Lord Berkeley, one of the commissioners of the House of Lords, and accredited too by Lord Montagu, who committed his little son to the temporary tutorship of Fuller. Before starting, however, Fuller had printed his *Mixt Contemplations for better times*, astutely dedicated to Lady Monck, from Sion College. On the King's landing, Fuller at once printed a *Panegyrick on His Majesties Happy Return.* It is a pamphlet in quarto, containing forty-two dreary and turgid stanzas in rhyme.

The Restoration brought very little to Fuller. He recovered his living at Broadwindsor, though he did not again take up his residence there; he resumed his place as preacher at the Savoy; he was re-instated in his prebendal stall at Salisbury, and he was made D.D. of the University of Cambridge by Royal mandate. He had many warm friends among the nobility, and he had deserved well of the Royal Family and the Royal cause; but there were many others who had higher claims. Accordingly more than a year passed after the return of the King before he was even appointed 'Chaplain extraordinary to His Majesty.' He was set down to preach before the Court, and had actually written his sermon, but it was never delivered. There is no doubt that he would have been rewarded with a bishopric, if he had lived a little longer; but towards the end of the summer of 1661 he set out on a tour to the West of England, from which he returned at the beginning of August, having, it appears, contracted typhoid fever somewhere during his absence. On the 13th of August, being very ill, he persisted in preaching a wedding sermon at the Savoy. He had to be lifted out of the pulpit, and was taken

to his lodgings in Covent Garden, where he died on the 16th August, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

Fuller left his great—perhaps his greatest—work, *The History of the Worthies of England*, not far from complete at the time of his death; but it was not issued from the press till six months after that event, and it was published by his son with a dedication to Charles II in February 1662. It had been the occupation of the twenty best years of his life, and had been looked for by the learned as a book to be desired, and from which much was to be expected, for a long time before it was sent to the printers. The design of the book can hardly be better described than by its author:—

'England may not unfitly be compared to an house, not very great, and the several shires may properly be resembled to the *rooms* thereof. Now as learned Master Camden and painful Master Speed, with others, have described the *rooms* themselves, so it is our intention, God willing, to describe the *Furniture* of those rooms: such eminent commodities, which every county doth produce, with the *persons* of quality bred therein, and some other observables coincident with the same subject.'

The work was published in a noble folio, uniform with the *Church History*, and extends to over 1000 pages. To enter upon anything like an analytical description of it would be out of place here, and the more so as the words of a modern writer may be accepted as no exaggerated estimate of its value. 'Perused as a book of amusement, there are few in the English language which a man with the slightest tincture of love for our early literature can take up with a keener relish.' Nevertheless, it was never reprinted till 1811, though

though an abridgment, under the title of *Anglorum Speculum*, was published in 1684. It is probable that the original edition was a very large one.

* * * * * *

When we set ourselves to estimate the value of Fuller's contributions to English literature, and to arrive at a fair judgment upon his place as a man of genius, the task proves a far from easy one.

1. As a divine, or theologian, Fuller was simply nowhere. His sermons are altogether wanting in even the pretence of learning; they are homely, practical, often very much to the point, and sometimes entertaining: but there is nothing in them that appeals to the heart and conscience, nothing that goes below the surface of things, nothing that remotely resembles enthusiasm. Nor do they contain any evidence that the preacher had any real interest in the controversies of the time, or even was at all familiar with the great commentators or Biblical critics of his own age, or of any other. If one turns from such sermons as his to the wonderful sermons of Donne (whom, there is some ground for believing, he must have heard preach), or even of Andrewes or Hall, one finds oneself lifted into a higher region of speculation, hermeneutics and spirituality. Fuller was quite content with his English version of the Scriptures, he never cared to turn to the original, and there is no evidence that his knowledge of Hebrew, or even of Greek, was anything more than elementary. If he had ever been what the seventeenth-century divines called a *Textualist*, it is hardly conceivable that a man of his amazing memory should have never been found quoting or referring to the Greek or Hebrew text, in an age when preachers were not chary of displaying their learning

learning in the pulpit. So again, it is clear that Fuller could have had no taste for, and no acquaintance with, the Scholastic Divinity, which Richard Baxter always spoke of with respect and recommended young clergymen not to neglect. Of patristic literature he appears to have been altogether ignorant. That he was a sincerely devout man is evident, but even his devotional writings are shallow and very limited in their range of ideas. He had never had any of those fierce and fiery conflicts with the powers of evil that Baxter's writings bear witness to, none of those strong cryings and tears, those upliftings and despairing agonies of the soul, which tell of dark remorse and ecstasy, of aspiration and spiritual rapture. His emotions were always subordinated to his intellect. In some of his published prayers he argues the question calmly with the Heavenly Father, and the fire upon the altar is a flame to lighten his path, but never to kindle a fire within him that could blaze and burn and consume. There was no heat there, no passion, no losing of himself, no capacity of being carried up into the third heaven, whether in the body he could not tell, or whether out of the body he could not tell. When any voice or language came to him which was not immediately intelligible, Fuller was the sort of man who would at once resort to grammar and dictionary. What he knew, he knew, what he felt he would not even analyse, it must be reduced to the form of syllogism. We look in vain for any record of religious experiences in these thousands of printed pages.

2. If then, by temperament and for want of early theological training, it seems pretty evident that Fuller had not the making of a great divine in him, it is the less to be regretted

regretted that during the best years of his life no career was open to him in the clerical profession. With his commanding stature and handsome face, his great ambition, his diplomatic ability, and his remarkable conversational powers, he was sure to have secured high preferment in the Church at any other time than under the Commonwealth, when the Church was disestablished. In that case English literature would have lost, and the Church would hardly have gained much. As it was, Fuller followed his natural bent with all his heart. English history was as yet in the empirical stage. Even Milton's so-called history is a wonder of uncritical credulity. But a new school of research was rising up—a school of hard students and scholars, who were beginning to look into original sources with quite other eyes than their predecessors. Such men as Twysden and Selden and Dugdale, and others like them, were setting themselves to examine the records of the past and to hunt up all the available materials of English history hidden away in public and private depositories; and the work not only of collecting, but of sifting and weighing evidence began, and was carried on with a new ardour. Fuller was one of this new school, whom it is the fashion to speak of as only antiquaries, in strange forgetfulness of the fact that the antiquary must always be the historian's guide and teacher, and that, till his labours have been intelligently utilised and digested, the historian cannot even begin to reconstruct a faithful picture of the past. The merit and the glory of Fuller, however, is that he was much more than a collector of bare facts. He was the first Englishman who, with a critical instinct, and a power of accumulating information such as few among us have ever equalled, had also that

measure

measure of constructive genius which breathes life into the dry bones, and, from the heaps of ruin and rubbish which the mere collector piles up without discrimination, can call into being that which had passed out of men's knowledge, and present us with a suggestive outline of the growth and the struggles and the life of a people who were not, and yet who were, as we are.

3. In saying that English history was still in the empiric stage in Fuller's time, it is implied that we must withhold from him the claim to be considered a great historian. Honest, laborious, truthful, candid, and fair-dealing in the main he always was, but calmly impartial and free from prejudice he could not have been unless he had been much more than he actually was in advance of his time. He says somewhere that he was brought up upon Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*; and the influence of that early training becomes apparent whenever he has to speak about *Popery*. Then he shows himself a good hater. Bale was a great deal too coarse and virulent for him, but he never learnt to understand the real greatness of the work done by the monastic orders; and monks and friars (whom he more than once confuses, as everybody else did) were to him abomination. It is true that he sometimes has a word to say in their defence, and he can speak kindly of some nunneries and even express his regret that they were all swept away[1], but on such matters he never could break loose from his early

[1] 'Yea, give me leave to say, if such feminine foundations had still continued, provided no vow were obtruded upon them (virginity is least kept when most constrained), haply the weaker sex, besides the avoiding modern inconveniences, might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained.'—*Church Hist.* B. vi. (Brewer), vol. iii. p. 336.

prejudices.

prejudices. He had eyes to see the dark side, and the dark side only.

4. It is as a literary craftsman that Fuller occupies a unique position. Those priceless jewels of his,

> 'Which on the stretched forefinger of old Time
> Sparkle for ever,'

do not so often owe their value to the thought suggested, or the profound wisdom of hints thrown out, as to the *setting* of the gem. No writer of the English language was so great a master of those trickeries of speech which are the essentials of what we call *wit*. Of mock seriousness, which we call irony, I remember no single instance in his writings. This is only another way of saying that Fuller had no *humour*. Warburton was right after all, however much the critics may protest against the name, for Warburton calls him 'Fuller the Jester.' Not that Warburton meant to imply that Fuller was always frivolous, that his aim was always to make men laugh; for none knew better than he that Fuller could be simply serious when it was meet and right for him so to be; but that there was an irrepressible fund of oddity about his utterances and a way of putting things which was unlike that of other men—a certain mannerism which the saturnine and gloomy would be likely to take offence at, and which would shock the sour disputant horribly in earnest to do battle for a commonplace or a foolish paradox. Fuller must have always been the terror of the pompous and the pretentious. He was the Sydney Smith of the seventeenth century, and he had a great deal in common with the brilliant Canon of St. Paul's. Like him he was nobly free from any suspicion of jealousy, spite, or bitterness, but he was incomparably the other's superior in

wide

wide and solid learning. It is noticeable that, except when he went to the Hague in the train of Lord Berkeley, Fuller never crossed the Channel. Indeed he never travelled as far as Scotland, Ireland, or even Wales. Though his memory was phenomenal, he appears to have had little or no command of any foreign language, nor any considerable acquaintance with European literature. On the other hand, the map of England was to him as an open book, whose leaves he was always turning over. There was scarcely an English cathedral which he had not visited; he rode on horseback through shire after shire. Palestine he was content to describe at second hand, but in doing so he exhibited his wonderful literary skill and his no less wonderful faculty of digesting and assimilating the labours of others. But England he knew, as only they can know it who set out on their journeys well furnished with such lore as qualifies them to start on a voyage of discovery, and who are gifted by nature with a geographical eye.

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If in this review of Fuller's life and of his literary work I may seem to some to have rather underestimated the greatness of a writer whose name is a household word, and whose enthusiastic admirers have numbered among them some of the most subtle and some of the most profound of England's critics and thinkers, there will be found in the pages that follow abundant proofs of the Wit and Wisdom, which give a never-ending charm to the writings of Thomas Fuller. In those writings there are still rich veins of ore to work, or rather, let me say, there are in that casket precious jewels still to find.

WISE WORDS AND QUAINT COUNSELS

OF

THOMAS FULLER

A. B. C. D.

The Use of the Alphabet

There was, not long since, a devout but ignorant papist dwelling in Spain. He perceived a necessity of his own private prayers to God, besides the Pater Nosters, Ave Marias, &c. used of course in the Romish church. But so simple was he, that how to pray he knew not. Only every morning, humbly bending his knees, and lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he would deliberately repeat the alphabet. And now, said he, O good God, put these letters together to spell syllables, to spell words, to make such sense as may be most to thy glory and my good.

In these distracted times I know what generals to pray for. God's glory, truth and peace, his majesty's honour, privileges of parliament, liberty of subjects, &c. But when I descend to particulars, when, how, by whom

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I should desire these things to be effected, I may fall to that poor pious man's A, B, C, D, E, &c.

Good Thoughts: Meditations on Worse Times, xi.

Advice to a Traveller

LET discourse rather be easily drawn, than willingly flow, from thee, that thou mayest not seem weak to hold —or desirous to vent—news, but content to gratify thy friends. Be sparing in reporting improbable truths, especially to the vulgar, who, instead of informing their judgments, will suspect thy credit. Disdain their peevish pride who rail on their native land (whose worst fault is, that it bred such ungrateful fools), and in all their discourses prefer foreign countries; herein showing themselves of kin to the wild Irish, in loving their nurses better than their mothers. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. iv. 11.

Ah! Ha!

HA is the interjection of laughter; Ah is an interjection of sorrow. The difference betwixt them is very small, as consisting only in the transposition of what is no substantial letter, but a bare aspiration. How quickly, in the age of a minute, in the very turning of a breath, is our mirth changed to mourning!

Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Mixed Contemplations, xiv.

All afore

THERE are in our age a generation of people who are the best of prophets, and worst of historians; Daniel

and

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and the Revelation are as easy to them as the ten commandments and the Lord's prayer: they pretend exactly to know the time of Christ's actual reign on earth, of the ruin of the Romish antichrist, yea, of the day of judgment itself. But these oracles are struck quite dumb, if demanded anything concerning the time past; about the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt and Babylon, the original increase and ruin of the four monarchies; of these and the like they can give no more account than the child in the cradle. They are all for things to come, but have gotten (through a great cold of ignorance) such a crick in their neck, they cannot look backward on what was behind them.

Good Thoughts: Mixed Contemp. on Better Times, Pt. II. i.

Almsgiving

SOME men there be whose charitable deeds are as rare as an eclipse, or a Blazing-Star: these men deserve to be pardoned for their pious deeds, they are so seldom guilty of them. *Coll. Serm.: Comment. on Ruth*, ii. v. 20.

* * *

I HAVE observed some at the church-door cast in sixpence with such ostentation, that it rebounded from the bottom, and rung against both the sides of the bason (so that the same piece of silver was the alms and the giver's trumpet); whilst others have dropped down silent five shillings without any noise.

Worthies: Bristol Benefactors.

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Alms-houses

BECAUSE we live in an age wherein men begin to be out of charity with charity itself; and there be many covetous (not to say sacrilegious) people, whose fingers itch to be *nimming* the patrimony of the poor; we will here present the cavils of this against the charity of former ages herein.

Cavil 1.—Shew us the foundation of such structures in Scripture, either in the Old or New Testament. As for the place with five porches, wherein 'the impotent poor lay,' near the Pool of Bethesda, it was of another nature. Alms-houses therefore, not being *jure divino*, may lawfully be abolished.

Answer.—The constitution of the Jewish was far different from our English commonwealth, wherein every one originally was a freeholder of some proportion of land, which, though alienated, reverted to the owner at the year of Jubilee. There needs not an express or particular precept for all our actions; that general one, 'He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord,' is bottom broad enough to build more alms-houses on, than all ages will afford. Besides this precept, we have the practice of the primitive Christians in the time of the apostles, parting with the propriety of all their estate; and well then may we appropriate a part of ours, for the relief of the poor.

Cavil 2.—The builders of them for the most part have been people formerly guilty of oppression, who, having lived like wolves, turn lambs on their death beds, and part with their fleece to people in want. Having

ground

ground the faces of the poor, they give the toll thereof to build an alms-house, though too little to hold half the beggars which they have made.

Answer.—The aspersion cannot be fastened on many founders; so free from the same, that malice may sooner break her own teeth and jaws too, than make impression on their reputation. But grant the charge true in this sense, *beatum est fuisse*, 'blessed are they that have been bad;'—'And such were some of you.' Let not envious man repine at that whereat the blessed angels rejoice, the conversion of sinners, and their testifying thereof by such public expressions.

Cavil 7.—Hospitals generally have the rickets, whose heads, their masters, grow over great and rich, whilst their poor bodies pine away and consume.

Answer.—Surely there is some other cure for a ricketish body, than to kill it; viz. by opening obstructions, and deriving the nutriment to all parts of the same. But enough of this unwelcome subject, whereof what is spoken is not to put new cavils into the heads of any, but to pluck old ones out of the hearts of too many, who have entertained them. If these our answers seem not satisfactory to any, know, that as a left-handed man hath great odds in fencing against one that is right-handed; so in controversies of this kind, cavillers, with their sinister inferences from men's frailties, have a vast advantage over those who are of candid and ingenuous dispositions.

Many faults must be confessed in such foundations, which for the future may be amended.

But, grant corruptions should continue in such foundations,

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tions, it is not plea enough for their abolition. If the sentence of condemnation was pronounced on those who saw Christ naked, and would not clothe him; how heavy a doom would fall on such who found Christ clothed, and stript him in his poor members of endowments given to their maintenance! *Worthies:* C. xi.

Anger

BE not mortally angry with any for a venial fault.—He will make a strange combustion in the state of his soul, who, at the landing of every cock-boat, sets the beacons on fire. To be angry for every toy, debases the worth of thy anger: for he who will be angry for any thing, will be angry for nothing. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. viii. 2.

Antioch

HAMAH, the city which gave the name to this country, was afterwards called Antiochia. Seven and twenty cities are said to be of the same name; for, several Antiochuses being successively kings of Syria, stocked their dominions with many cities after their names, as being either built, beautified, strengthened, or enlarged by them or their favourites. But it matters not how many younger brethren there be of the same family, as long as our Antioch is the heir, and, though not in age, in honour to be preferred before all the rest. Here the professors of the gospel—formerly termed believers for their faith, sometimes brethren for their love, saints for their holiness, disciples for their knowledge—were, for all these, first called Christians (Acts xi. 26). Probably, when many of all nations believed, the name Christian

was

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was given to them to bury the difference betwixt Jews and Gentiles (thus England and Scotland happily joined in Great Britain), which two names, though remaining afterwards, were used as terms of civil difference, not odious distinction. Had this happened at Rome, how would the tide of Tiber have swollen above all his bounds and banks at the conceit that in her city religion itself was christened? But this Antioch hath still more to brag of—the chair of St. Peter, wherein he sate patriarch many years before his removal to Rome; and, therefore, no wonder if Antioch grudge to give Rome the superiority. Why should not that place be the prime which was the first? Besides, St. Peter was honoured at Antioch, murdered at Rome. And why should that city receive most credit by him, which used most cruelty unto him? But let ecclesiastical heralds deduce the pedigree and marshal the precedency of these churches, we will only add, that this Pharisaical taking of the upper hand hath in all ages hindered the giving of the right hand of Christian fellowship.

Pisgah Sight, B. iv. C. i. 27.

Antiquaries

Some report, that the toad, before her death, sucks up, if not prevented with sudden surprisal, the precious stone (as yet but jelly) in her head, grudging mankind the good thereof. Such generally the envy of antiquaries, preferring that their rarities should die with them, and be buried in their graves, rather than others receive any benefit thereby.

Ch. Hist. B. ii. S. 7, *Dedication.*

The

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The true Church Antiquary

He is not peremptory, but conjectural, in doubtful matters. Not forcing others to his own opinion, but leaving them to their own liberty; not filling up all with his own conjectures, to leave no room for other men; nor tramples he on their credits, if in them he finds slips and mistakes. For here our souls have but one eye (the apostle saith, 'We know but in part'); be not proud, if that chance to come athwart thy seeing side which meets with the blind side of another.

He thankfully acknowledgeth those by whom he hath profited. Base-natured they, who, when they have quenched their own thirst, stop up, at least muddy, the fountain. But our antiquary, if he be not the first founder of a commendable conceit, contents himself to be a benefactor to it in clearing and adorning it.

He affects not fanciful singularity in his behaviour. Nor cares to have a proper mark, in writing of words, to disguise some peculiar letter from the ordinary character. Others, for fear travellers should take no notice that skill in antiquity dwells in such an head, hang out an antique hat for the sign, or use some obsolete garb in their garments, gestures, or discourse.

He doth not so adore the ancients as to despise the moderns. Grant them but dwarfs, yet stand they on giants' shoulders, and may see the further. Sure, as stout champions of truth follow in the rear, as ever marched in the front. Besides, as one excellently observes, *Antiquitas sæculi juventus mundi.* 'These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient;' and

not

not those which we count ancient *ordine retrogrado*, 'by a computation backwards from ourselves.'

Holy State, B. ii. C. 6.

Love of Approbation

He must be deaf, indeed, who hears not that spoken which he desires. *Holy State*, B. v. C. 5.

* * *

He must rise early, yea, not at all go to bed, who will have every one's good word. *Holy War*, B. iv. C. 14.

Arguing from Scripture

A reverend Doctor in Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, was troubled at his small living at Hogginton, with a peremptory Anabaptist, who plainly told him: 'It goes against my conscience to pay you tithes, except you can show me a place of Scripture whereby they are due unto you.' The Doctor returned: 'Why should it not go as much against my conscience, that you should enjoy your nine parts, for which you can show no place of Scripture?' To whom the other rejoined: 'But I have, for my land, deeds and evidences from my fathers, who purchased and were peaceably possessed thereof by the laws of the land.' 'The same is my title,' saith the Doctor; 'tithes being confirmed unto me by many statutes of the land, time out of mind.' Thus he drave that nail, not which was of the strongest metal or sharpest point, but which would go best for the present. It was *argumentum ad hominem*, 'fittest for the person he was to meddle with;' who afterwards peaceably

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peaceably paid his tithes unto him. Had the Doctor engaged in Scripture argument, though never so pregnant and pertinent, it had been endless to dispute with him who made clamour the end of his dispute, whose obstinacy and ignorance made him uncapable of solid reason; and therefore the worse the argument, the better for his apprehension. *Ch. Hist.* B. ii. S. iv. 12.

Spanish Armada

Now began that fatal year generally foretold that it would be wonderful; as it proved no less. Whence the astrologers fetched their intelligence hereof,—whether from heaven or hell, from other stars or from Lucifer alone,—is uncertain. This is most sure, that this prediction, though hitting the mark, yet missed their meaning, who both first reported and most believed it. Out comes their invincible navy and army, perfectly appointed for both elements, water and land, to sail and march complete in all warlike equipage; so that formerly, with far less provision, they had conquered another new world. Mighty was the bulk of their ships, the sea seeming to groan under them, (being a burden to it as they went, and to themselves before they returned,) with all manner of artillery, prodigious in number and greatness; so that the report of their guns do still and ought ever to sound in the ears of the English, not to fright them with any terror, but to fill them with deserved thankfulness.

It is said of Sennacherib, coming against Jerusalem with his numerous army, 'By the way that he came shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the Lord,'

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Lord,' 2 Kings xix. 33. As the latter part of this threatening was verified here, no Spaniard setting foot on English ground under other notion than a prisoner; so God did not them the honour to return the same way, who coming by south-east, a way they knew, went back by south-west, a way they sought, chased by our ships past the fifty-seventh degree of northern latitude, then and there left to be pursued after by hunger and cold. Thus, having tasted the English valour in conquering them, the Scotch constancy in not relieving them, the Irish cruelty in barbarous butchering them, the small reversion of this great navy which came home might be looked upon by religious eyes, as relics, not for the adoration but instruction of their nation hereafter, not to account any thing *invincible* which is less than *infinite*.

Such as lose themselves by looking on second causes impute the Spanish ill success, partly to the prince of Parma, who either mind-bound or wind-bound, staying himself, or stopped by the Hollander, would or could not come to their seasonable succour; and partly to the duke of Medina's want of commission to fight with the English, (save on the defensive,) till joined with Parma. Thus, when God will have a design defeated, amidst the plenty, yea, superfluity, of all imaginable necessaries, some unsuspected one shall be wanting to frustrate all the rest. We will not mention (save in due distance of helps) the industry and loyalty of the lord Howard, admiral, the valour of our captains, the skill of our pilots, the activity of our ships; but assign all to the goodness of God, as queen Elizabeth did. Leave we her

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her in the choir of St. Paul's church, devoutly on her knees, with the rest of her nobles in the same humble posture, returning their unfeigned thanks to the God and Giver of all victory; whilst, going abroad, we shall find some of her subjects worse employed,—in implacable enmity about ecclesiastical discipline one against another. And let not the mentioning of this deliverance be censured as a deviation from the 'Church History of Britain;' silence thereof being a sin. For had the design taken effect, neither protestant church in Britain had remained, nor history thereof been made at this present. *Ch. Hist.* B. ix. S. vii. 14.

The Thirty-nine Articles

HENCE some have unjustly taxed the composers for too much favour extended in their large expressions, clean through the contexture of these Articles, which should have tied men's consciences up closer in more strict and particularizing propositions; which, indeed, proceeded from their commendable moderation: children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest, because afterwards their bodies will grow up to their garments. Thus, the Articles of this English Protestant Church, in the infancy thereof, they thought good to draw up in general terms, foreseeing that posterity would grow up to fill the same. I mean, these holy men did prudently pre-discover, that differences in judgments would unavoidably happen in the church, and were loath to un-church any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion, for such petty differences; which made them pen the Articles in comprehensive words to take

in

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in all, who, differing in the branches, meet in the root, of the same religion.

Indeed, most of them had formerly been sufferers themselves, and cannot be said, in compiling these Articles, (an acceptable service, no doubt,) to offer to God what cost them nothing; some having paid imprisonment—others, exile—all, losses in their estates—for this their experimental knowledge in religion; which made them the more merciful and tender in stating those points, seeing such who have been most patient in bearing, will be most pitiful in burdening the consciences of others.

It is observable, these Articles came forth much about the time wherein the Decrees of the Council of Trent were published; truth and falsehood starting in some sort both together, though the former will surely carry away the victory at long running. Many of which Decrees begin with lying, and all conclude with cursing, —thundering anathemas against all dissenters: whilst these our Articles, like the still voice, only plainly express the positive truth. *Ch. Hist.* B. ix. S. i. 51.

'As it was'

Some alive will be deposed for the truth of this strange accident, though I forbear the naming of place or persons.

A careless maid, which attended a gentleman's child, fell asleep whilst the rest of the family were at church; an ape, taking the child out of the cradle, carried it to the roof of the house, and there (according to his rude manner) fell a dancing and dandling thereof, down head, up heels, as it happened.

The

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The father of the child, returning with his family from the church, commented with his own eyes on his child's sad condition. Bemoan he might, help it he could not. Dangerous to shoot the ape where the bullet might hit the babe; all fall to their prayers as their last and best refuge, that the innocent child (whose precipice they suspected) might be preserved.

But when the ape was well wearied with its own activity, he fairly went down, and formally laid the child where he found it, in the cradle.

Fanatics have pleased their fancies these late years with turning and tossing and tumbling of religion, upward and downward, and backward and forward, they have cast and contrived it into a hundred antic postures of their own imagining. However, it is now to be hoped, that after they have tired themselves out with doing of nothing, but only trying and tampering this and that way to no purpose, they may at last return and leave religion in the same condition wherein they found it.

Good Thoughts: Mixed Contemp. on Better Times, Pt. ii. 46.

Aspirations

How large houses do they build in London on little ground! Revenging themselves on the narrowness of their room with store of stories. Excellent arithmetic! from the root of one floor to multiply so many chambers. And though painful the climbing up, pleasant the staying there, the higher the healthfuller, with clearer light and sweeter air.

Small are my means on earth. May I mount my soul the higher in heavenly meditations, relying on divine providence;

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providence; he that fed many thousands with five loaves, may feed me and mine with the fifth part of that one loaf, that once all mine. Higher, my soul! higher! In bodily buildings, commonly the garrets are most empty, but my mind, the higher mounted, will be the better furnished. Let perseverance to death be my uppermost chamber, the roof of which grace is the pavement of glory. *Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Occ. Med.* 2.

Beauty of Situation

A PLEASANT prospect is to be respected. A medley view, such as of water and land at Greenwich, best entertains the eyes, refreshing the wearied beholder with exchange of objects. Yet I know a more profitable prospect,—where the owner can only see his own land round about. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. vii.

Better and Best

I WELL knew that wealthy man, who, being a great improver of ground, was wont to say, 'that he would never come into that place which might not be made better;' on the same token, that one tartly returned, 'that then he would never go to heaven, for that place was at the best.' But the truth is, fertilizing of barren ground may be termed a charitable curiosity employing many poor people therein. *Worthies: Wales. Buildings.*

The best Bedmaker

WHEN a good man is ill at ease, God promiseth to make all his bed in his sickness. Pillow, bolster, head, feet,

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feet, sides, all his bed. Surely that God who made him, knows so well his measure and temper, as to make his bed to please him. Herein his art is excellent, not fitting the bed to the person, but the person to the bed, infusing patience into him.

Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Scrip. Obs. 22.

A Bishop Hater

INDEED, so great is his antipathy against episcopacy, that if a seraphim himself should be a bishop, he would either find or make some sick feathers in his wings.

Ch. Hist. B. v. S. ii. 43.

Black for Mourning

BLACK is conceived by Arias Montanus to be the general wearing of mourners, chiefly grounding it on David's words, 'I bowed down heavily as one that mourneth for his mother' (Psalm xxxv. 14); the Hebrew is קודר שחותי, *qōdēr shăhhōthī*, *incurvabam atratus*, 'I bowed down in black.' However, I conceive this blackness no superinduction of a dark dye on David's clothes, but rather a dirty hue or soil contracted on his white garments, from neglect of washing them (*vestes potius sordidæ quam nigræ*, as we say, mourning shirts), it being customary for men in sadness to spare the pains of their laundresses, with Mephibosheth, who, when David was driven from Jerusalem, during his absence, washed not his clothes from the day the king departed until he came again in peace (2 Sam. xix. 24).

Pisgah Sight, B. iv. C. vi. 4.

Superfluity

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Superfluity of Books

When the author of an idle and imperfect book endeth with a *cætera desiderantur*, one altered it *non desiderantur, sed desunt.* Indeed they were not, though wanting, wanted; the world having no need of them; many books being like King Joram, who lived not being desired: yea, the press beginneth to be an oppression of the land, such the burden of needless books therein.

Worthies: Chap. x.

* * *

Some will say, the charge may most justly be brought against yourself, who have loaded the land with more books than any of your age. To this I confess my fault, and promise amendment, that, God willing, hereafter I will never print book in the English tongue, but what shall tend directly to divinity. *Worthies:* Chap. x.

Books falsely attributed

As for those spurious tracts, which monks in after-ages set out under these worthy men's names, they are no more to be accounted the true offspring of these learned saints, than that common manna, ordinarily sold in apothecaries' shops, is the self-same with that angels' food which fell down from heaven, and feasted the Israelites. *Ch. Hist.* B. i. S. 6. 15.

Book Worms

Some men live like moths in libraries, not being better for the books, but the books the worse for them, which they only soil with their fingers. *Worthies: Hants. Writers.*

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Bread

BREAD is a dish in every course: without this can be no feast, with this can be no famine. *Ruth*, C. 1. 6.

Breeding better than birth

IT graceth a gentleman of low descent and high desert, when he will own the meanness of his parentage. How ridiculous is it when many men brag, that their families are more ancient than the moon, which, all know, are later than the star which, some seventy years since, shined in Cassiopeia. But if he be generously born, see how his parents breed him. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. xxv. 2.

Brothers

THE ELDER BROTHER

THE elder brother is one who made haste to come into the world, to bring his parents the first news of male-posterity; and is well rewarded for his tidings.

THE YOUNGER BROTHER

SOME account him the better gentleman of the two, because son to the more ancient gentleman; wherein his elder brother can give him the hearing, and a smile into the bargain. *Holy State*, B. i. C. xiv. xv.

Bull-baiting

IT seems that both the gentry and country folk in this shire are much affected with that pastime, though some scruple the lawfulness thereof. 1. Man must not be a barrater, to set the creatures at variance. 2. He can take no true delight in their antipathy, which was the effect

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effect of his sin. 3. Man's charter of dominion empowers him to be a prince, but no tyrant, over the creatures. 4. Though brute beasts are made to be destroyed, they are not made to be tormented. Others rejoin, that God gave us the creatures as well for our pleasure as necessity; that some nice consciences, that scruple the baiting of bulls, will worry men with their vexatious cruelties. All that I dare interpose is this, that the tough flesh of bulls is not only made more tender by baiting, but also thereby it is discoloured from ox-beef, that the buyer be not deceived.

Worthies: Somerset. Mastiffs.

Burial of the Dead

Oh, if monuments were marshalled according to men's merits, what change would it cause in our churches! See we here the care the Jews had of decent burying their dead. True it is, bodies flung in a bog will not stick there at the day of judgment; cast into a wood, will find out the way; thrown into a dungeon, will have free egress; left on the highway, are still in the ready road to the resurrection. Yet seeing they are the tabernacles of the soul, yea, the temples of the Holy Ghost, the Jews justly began, and Christians commendably continue the custom of their solemn interment.

Pisgah Sight, B. iii. C. i. S. vii. 5.

Cards

It were no great harm if there were no other cards used than those of clothiers about wool, and of mariners in the ship. But as for cards to play with, let us not wholly condemn them, lest, lacing our consciences too strait, we make them to grow awry on the wrong side.

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Such recreations are lawful, if we use them as Jonathan tasted the honey: putting forth the end of his rod, he touched a little of it, and his eyes were cleared. But let us take heed of a surfeit, into which those do fall who either play out of covetousness, or for more than their estates can bear, or constantly and continually. All their meat is sauce; all the days in their almanack play-days, though few holy-days. The creation lasted but a week, but these men's recreations all the days of their lives. Such using of lawful exercises is altogether unlawful.

Notes on Jonah, i. 7.

Catechising

READER, pardon an excursion caused by just grief and anger. Many, counting themselves Protestants in England, do slight and neglect that ordinance of God, by which their religion was set up, and gave credit to it in the first Reformation; I mean, CATECHISING. Did not our Saviour say even to Saint Peter himself, 'Feed my lambs, feed my sheep.' And why *lambs* first? 1. Because they were *lambs* before they were *sheep*. 2. Because, if they be not fed whilst *lambs*, they could never be *sheep*. 3. Because *sheep* can in some sort feed themselves; but *lambs* (such their tenderness) must either be *fed* or *famished*.

Worthies: Sussex. Writers.

Cathedrals

I HAVE read of duke d'Alva, that he promised life to some prisoners; but, when they petitioned him for food, he returned, 'he would grant them life, but no meat;' by which criticism of courteous cruelty the poor people were starved. If our cathedrals have only a bare being,

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and be not supplied with seasonable repairs (the daily food of a fabric) soon will they be famished to nothing.

Worthies: Stafford. Buildings.

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Ceremonies

I HAVE a high esteem for the cross in baptism, so long as it observes the due distance of an *ancient* and *significant* ceremony, and intrudes not itself as *essential*. A chain of gold is an eminent ornament about the neck; but it may be drawn so close, as to choke and strangle the wearer thereof. And in like manner ceremonies, though decent and useful, when pretending to essentiality, become (as Luther saith) *carnificinæ conscientiæ*, and therefore justly may we beware thereof.

Appeal of Injured Innocence, P. 11. *Animad. Ch. Hist.* ii. 41.

CHARACTERS

THOMAS ALLEN

THOMAS ALLEN was born in this county, deriving his original from Alanus de Buckenhole, lord of Buckenhole, in the reign of king Edward the Second. He was bred in Gloucester Hall in Oxford; a most excellent mathematician, where he succeeded to the skill and scandal of friar Bacon (taken at both, but given I believe by neither), accounted *a conjuror*. Indeed vulgar eyes, ignorant in optics, conceit that raised which is but reflected, fancy every shadow a spirit, every spirit a devil. And when once the repute of a conjurer is raised in vulgar esteem, it is not in the power of the greatest innocence and learning to allay it. He was much in favour with Robert earl of Leicester; and his admirable writings of mathematics

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are latent with some private possessors, which envy the public profit thereof. He died, a very aged man, towards the end of the reign of king James.

Worthies: Stafford. Writers.

Characters (*continued*)

Bishop Lancelot Andrewes

The world wanted learning to know how learned this man was, so skilled in all (especially oriental) languages that some conceive he might, if then living, almost have served as an interpreter-general at the confusion of tongues. Nor are the Fathers more faithfully cited in his books, than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing king James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of his prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself. He lieth buried in the chapel of St. Mary Overy's, having on his monument a large, elegant, and true epitaph. . . . He was the prince of all our English critics: and whereas men of that tribe are generally morose, so that they cannot dissent from another without disdaining, nor oppose without inveighing against him, it is hard to say whether more candour, learning or judgment, was blended in his 'Miscellanies.' By discovering how much Hebrew there is in the New Testament Greek, he cleareth many real difficulties from his verbal observations. *Ch. Hist.* B. xi. S. 1. 46.

Andronicus

We must be wary how, in our censures, we shut heaven-door against any penitents. Far be it from us to distrust the power of God's mercy, or to deny the efficacy of true

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(though late) repentance. The last groan which divorces the soul from the body, may unite it to God: though the arm of his body was cut off, the hand of his faith might hold. All that I will add is this: If Andronicus's soul went to heaven, it is pity that any should know of it, lest they be encouraged to imitate the wicked premisses of his life, hoping by his example to obtain the same happy conclusion after death. *Profane State*, B. v. C. xviii. 9.

Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor

None can character him to the life, save himself. He was in parts more than a man; who in any liberal profession might be whatsoever he would himself: a great honourer of ancient authors, yet a great deviser and practiser of new ways in learning: privy counsellor, as to king James, so to nature itself, diving into many of her abstruse mysteries. New conclusions he would dig out with mattocks of gold and silver; not caring what his experience cost him, expending on the trials of nature all and more than he got by the trials at the bar; posterity being the better for his—though he the worse for his own—dear experiments. He and his servants had all in common; the men never wanting what their master had; and thus what came flowing in unto him was sent flying away from him, who, in giving of rewards, knew no bounds but the bottom of his own purse. Wherefore, when king James heard that he had given ten pounds to an underkeeper, by whom he had sent him a buck, the king said merrily, 'I and he shall both die beggars;' which was condemnable prodigality in a subject. He lived many years after; and in his books will ever survive: in the reading

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reading whereof, modest men commend him in what they do—condemn themselves in what they do not—understand, as believing the fault in their own eyes, and not in the object. *Ch. Hist.* B. x. S. v. 22.

Characters (*continued*)

Sir Nicholas Bacon

He gave for his motto, '*Mediocria Firma*;' and practised the former part thereof, *mediocria*; never attaining, because never affecting, any great estate. He was not for invidious structures, (as some of his contemporaries), but delighted in *domo domino pari*; such as was his house at Gorhambury in Hertfordshire. And therefore, when queen Elizabeth, coming thither in progress, told him, 'My lord, your house is too little for you:' 'No, madam,' returned he, no less wittily than gratefully, 'but it is your highness that hath made me too great for mine house.' Now as he was a just practiser of the first part of his motto, *mediocria*, so no doubt he will prove a true prophet in the second part thereof, *firma*, having left an estate, rather good than great, to his posterity, whose eldest son, Sir Edward Bacon, in this county, was the first baronet of England. He died on the 20th of February, 1578, and lieth buried in the choir of St. Paul's. In a word, he was a good man, a grave statesman, a father to his country, and father to Sir Francis Bacon.

Worthies: Suffolk. Statesmen.

Baldwin II

The Death of Baldwin the Second

King Baldwin, a little before his death, renounced the world, and took on him a religious habit. This was the

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the fashion of many princes in that age, though they did it for divers ends. Some thought to make amends for their disordered lives by entering into some holy order at their deaths; others, having surfeited of the world's vanity, fasted from it when they could eat no more, because of the impotency of their bodies; others, being crossed by the world by some misfortune, sought to cross the world again in renouncing of it. These, like furious gamesters, threw up their cards, not out of dislike of gaming but of their game; and they were rather discontented to live than contented to die. But we must believe that Baldwin did it out of true devotion, to ripen himself for heaven, because he was piously affected from his youth, so that all his life was religiously tuned, though it made the sweetest music in the close. *Holy War*, B. ii. C. 18.

Baldwin IV

Thus anguish of mind and weakness of body (a doughty conquest for their united strengths, which single might suffice) ended this king's days, dying young at five and twenty years of age. But if by the morning we may guess at the day, he would have been no whit inferior to any of his predecessors; especially if his body had been able: but (alas!) it spoiled the music of his soul, that the instrument was quite out of tune. He reigned twelve years, and was buried in the Temple of the Sepulchre [May 16, 1185]: a king happy in this, that he died before the death of his kingdom. *Holy War*, B. ii. C. 42.

Nicholas Breakspear

He was afterwards chosen Pope of Rome, by the name of Adrian the Fourth. There is a mystery more than I can

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can fathom in the changing of his name, seeing his own font-name was a papal one; yet he preferred rather to be Adrian the Fourth than Nicholas the Third. He held his place four years, eight months, and eight and twenty days: and, *anno* 1158, as he was drinking, was choked with a fly; which in the large territory of St. Peter's Patrimony had no place but his throat to get into. But, since a fly stopped his breath, fear shall stop my mouth, not to make uncharitable conclusions from such casualties.

Worthies: Herts. Pope.

Characters (*continued*)

Bishop Brownrigg

King James, coming to Cambridge, was (amongst others) entertained with a philosophy act; and Mr. Brownrigg was appointed to perform the *Joco-serious* part thereof; who did both, to the wonder of the hearers.

Herein he was *like* himself, that he could on a sudden be so *unlike* himself, and instantly vary his words and matter from mirth to solidity. No man had more ability, or less inclination, to be satirical, in which kind *posse et nolle* is a rarity indeed. He had wit at will; but so that he made it his page, not privy councillor, to obey, not direct his judgment. He carried learning enough *in numerato* about him in his pockets for any discourse, and had much more at home in his chests for any serious dispute. It is hard to say whether his loyal memory, quick fancy, solid judgment, or fluent utterance, were most to be admired, having not only *flumen* but *fulmen eloquentiæ*, being one who did teach with authority.

Worthies: Suffolk. Prelates.

Death

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Death of the Venerable Bede

Bede's last Blaze, and the Going-out of the Candle of his Life. A.D. 734

One of the last things he did was the translating of the Gospel of St. John into English. When death seized on him, one of his devout scholars, whom he used for his secretary or amanuensis, complained, 'My beloved master, there remains yet one sentence unwritten.' 'Write it, then, quickly,' replied Bede, and, summoning all his spirits together, like the last blaze of a candle going out, he indited it, and expired. Thus, God's children are immortal while their Father hath any thing for them to do on earth; and death, 'that beast, cannot overcome and kill them, till first they have finished their testimony,' Rev. xi. 7; which done, like silkworms, they willingly die when their web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own endeavours. Nor have I aught else to observe of Bede, save only this: A foreign ambassador, some two hundred years since, coming to Durham, addressed himself first to the high and sumptuous shrine of St. Cuthbert, 'If thou beest a saint, pray for me;' then, coming to the plain, low, and little tomb of Bede, 'Because,' said he, 'thou art a saint, good Bede, pray for me.' *Ch. Hist.* B. ii. 18.

Benedict Biscop

In a word, I reverence his memory, not so much for his first bringing over painted glass into England, as for his bringing up pious Bede in his monastery. Being struck beneath the girdle with the dead palsy, his soul retired into the upper rooms of his clay cottage, much employed

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employed in meditation, until the day of his death, which happened *anno* 703. *Worthies: Yorks. Saints.*

Characters (*continued*)

William Butler

William Butler was born at Ipswich in this county, where he had one only brother, who, going beyond sea, turned Papist, for which cause this William was so offended with him, that he left him none of his estate. I observe this the rather, because this William Butler was causelessly suspected for popish inclinations. He was bred fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge, where he became the Æsculapius of our age. He was the first Englishman who quickened Galenical physic with a touch of Paracelsus, trading in chemical receipts with great success. His eye was excellent at the instant discovery of a cadaverous face, on which he would not lavish any art. This made him, at the first sight of sick prince Henry, to get himself out of sight. Knowing himself to be the prince of physicians, he would be observed accordingly. Compliments would prevail nothing with him, entreaties but little, surly threatenings would do much, and a witty jeer do anything. He was better pleased with presents than money, loved what was pretty rather than what was costly; and preferred rarities before riches. Neatness he neglected into slovenliness; and accounting cuffs to be manacles, he may be said not to have made himself ready for some seven years together. He made his humorsomeness to become him, wherein some of his profession have rather aped than imitated him, who had *morositatem æquabilem*, and kept

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the tenor of the same surliness to all persons. He was a good benefactor to Clare Hall; and dying 1621, he was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's in Cambridge, under a fair monument. Mr. John Crane, that expert apothecary and his executor, is since buried by him; and if some eminent surgeon was interred on his other side, I would say, that physic lay here in state, with its two pages attending it. *Worthies: Suffolk. Physicians.*

Campian

Campian, one fitter for a trumpeter than a soldier; whose best ability was, that he could boast in good Latin, being excellent at the flat hand of rhetoric, which rather gives pats than blows; but he could not bend his fist to dispute. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. 5.

Cade and Straw

Cade and Straw like and unlike. A.D. 1450

About this time Jack Cade raised his rebellion, like and unlike to the former commotion of Jack Straw. Like. First. Because Jacks both; I mean, insolent, impudent, domineering clowns. Secondly. Both of them were Kentish by their extractions. Thirdly. Both of them pressed upon London, and there principally played their pranks. Fourthly. Both of them, after they had troubled the land for a short time, were justly slain, and their numerous rabble routed and dispersed. In other remarkables, Cade differed from Jack Straw. First. Straw defied all nobility and learning, vowing and endeavouring their ruin and extirpation; whilst Cade pretended himself to be the lord Mortimer, and next heir

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heir to the crown, and no design against learning is charged on his account. Lastly. Straw's rebellion is (though most falsely) fathered by popish writers on Wickliffe and his adherents, [who are said] to have occasioned, at leastwise connived at, his commotion; but I never met yet with any Romanists accusing the Lollards, as they term them, for having any hand in Cade's rebellion. *Ch. Hist.* B. iv. S. iii. 22.

Characters (*continued*)

Catherine of Arragon

At this time, January 8th, Catherine dowager, whom we will be bold still in courtesy to call 'a queen,' notwithstanding King Henry's proclamation to the contrary, ended her woful life at Kimbolton. A pious woman toward God, (according to her devotion,) frequent in prayer, which she always performed on her bare knees, nothing else between her and the earth interposed; little curious in her clothes, being wont to say, she accounted no time lost but what was laid out in dressing of her; though art might be more excusable in her, to whom nature had not been over bountiful. She was rather staid, than stately; reserved, than proud; grave from her cradle, insomuch that she was a matron before she was a mother. This her natural gravity increased with her apprehended injuries, settled in her reduced age into a habit of melancholy, and that terminated into a consumption of the spirits. She was buried in the abbey-church of Peterborough, under a hearse of black say; probably by her own appointment, that she might be plain when dead, who neglected bravery of clothes when living.

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living. A noble pen tells us, that in intuition to her corpse here interred, king Henry, at the destruction of abbeys, not only spared the church in Peterborough, but also advanced it into a cathedral. If so, it was civilly done of him not to disturb her in her grave whom he had so disquieted in her bed. *Ch. Hist.* B. v. S. iv. 19.

Death of Charles I

My cue of entrance is to come in where the state-writer doth go out, whose pen hath always followed the confessors into the chambers of dying people; and now must do its last devoir to my gracious master, in describing his pious death and solemn burial.

Having received in himself the sentence of death, Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, preached privately before him, at St. James's, on the Sunday following, January 28th; his text, Romans ii. 16: 'In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.'

Next Tuesday, January 30th, being the day of his dissolution, in the morning alone he received the communion from the hands of the said bishop. At which time he read for the second lesson, the twenty-seventh chapter of St. Matthew, containing the history of the death and passion of our Saviour. Communion ended, the king heartily thanked the bishop for selecting so seasonable and comfortable a portion of Scripture, seeing all human hope and happiness is founded on the sufferings of our Saviour. The bishop modestly disavowed any thanks due to himself, it being done merely by the direction of the church of England, whose Rubric appointeth

Characters (*continued*).

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pointeth that chapter the second morning-lesson for the thirtieth of January.

His hour drawing nigh, he passed through the park to Whitehall. As he always was observed to walk very fast, so now he abated not any whit of his wonted pace. In his passage a sorry fellow (seemingly some mean citizen) went abreast along with him, and, in an affront, often stared his majesty in the face, which caused him to turn it another way. The bishop of London, though not easily angered, was much offended hereat, as done out of despiteful design, to discompose him before his death, and moved the captain of the guard he might be taken away; which was done accordingly.

Entering on the floor of death, he asked of colonel Tomlinson, who attended there, whether he might have the liberty to dispose of his own body, as to the place and manner of the burial thereof. The colonel answered that he could give his majesty no account at all therein.

His majesty held in his hand a small piece of paper, some four inches square, containing heads whereon in his speech he intended to dilate; and a tall soldier looking over the king's shoulders read it, as the king held it in his hand. As for the speech which passeth in print for the king's, though taken in short-hand, by one eminent therein, it is done so defectively, it deserveth not to be accounted his speech, by the testimony of such as heard it. His speech ended, he gave that small paper to the bishop of London.

After his death, the officers demanded the paper of the bishop; who, because of the depth of his pocket, small-

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ness of that paper, and the mixture of others therewith, could not so soon produce it as was required. At last he brought it forth; but therewith the others were unsatisfied, (jealousy is quick of growth,) as not the same which his majesty delivered unto him; when presently the soldier, whose rudeness (the bad cause of a good effect) had formerly over-inspected it in the king's hand, attested this the very same paper, and prevented farther suspicions, which might have terminated to the bishop's trouble.

On the Wednesday se'nnight after, (February 7th,) his corpse, embalmed and coffined in lead, was delivered to the care of two of his servants, to be buried at Windsor; —the one Anthony Mildmay, who formerly had been his sewer, as I take it; the other John Joyner, bred first in his majesty's kitchen, afterwards a parliament-captain, since by them deputed (when the Scots surrendered his person) cook to his majesty. This night they brought the corpse to Windsor, and digged a grave for it in St. George's chapel, on the south side of the communion-table.

Ch. Hist. B. xi. S. x. 36–43.

Charles, King of Jerusalem

He survived a year or two longer, but dull and melancholic, living as it were without life, and died at last, having reigned king of Jerusalem twenty years: a prince who had tasted of various success; fortune for a while smiling on him, and at last laughing at him.

Holy War, B. iv. C. xxxi.

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Characters (*continued*)

His Son

For as high hills near the seaside, though otherwise never so base and barren ground, yet will serve to be sea-marks for the direction of mariners; so this Charles, together with Hugh, John, and Henry, Kings of Cyprus, pretending also to Jerusalem, though we read nothing remarkable of them, will become the front of a page, and serve to divide and distinguish times, and to parcel the history the better to our apprehension. As for the bare anatomy of their reign (for we find it not fleshed with any history), with the dates of their beginnings and endings, we shall present it to the reader hereafter in our chronology. *Idem.*

A Fighting Cock

[AMP.] . . . . . Cock. I am sorry I cannot add his Christian name, and more sorry that I cannot certainly avouch his nativity in this county (though inclined with many motives to believe it) being a cock of the game indeed: for in the eighty-eight, 'Solus cockus Anglus in suâ inter medios hostes naviculâ, cum laude periit.' And whereas there was not a noble family in Spain but lost either son, brother, or nephew, in that fight; this cock was the only man of note of the English, who, fighting a volunteer in his own ship, lost his life, to save his queen and country:

'Unus homo nobis pereundo restituit rem.'

Pity it is his memory should ever be forgotten; and my pen is sensible of no higher preferment, than when

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it may be permitted to draw the curtains about those who have died in the bed of honour.

Worthies: Devon. Seamen.

Will. Compton

He was highly and deservedly a favourite to this king Henry VIII; so that, in the court, no lay-man, abating only Charles Brandon (in whom affection and affinity met), was equal unto him. He might have been, for wealth or honour, what he pleased; but contented himself with what he was. For the happiness of whom, and his, when I cannot orally pray, I will make signs of my affection to heaven. *Worthies: Worcester. Sheriffs.*

Thomas Coriat

Though some will censure him, as a person rather ridiculous than remarkable, he must not be omitted; for, first, few would be found to call him fool, might none do it save such who had as much learning as himself. Secondly, if others have more wisdom than he, thankfulness and humility is the way to preserve and increase it.

He was born at Odcombe nigh Evil, in this county; bred at Oxford, where he attained to admirable fluency in the Greek tongue. He carried folly (which the charitable called merriment) in his very face. The shape of his head had no promising form, being like a sugar-loaf inverted, with the little end before, as composed of fancy and memory, without any common sense.

Such as conceived him fool *ad duo*, and something else *ad decem*, were utterly mistaken: for he drave on

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no design, carrying for coin and counters alike; so contented with what was present, that he accounted those men guilty of superfluity, who had more suits and shirts than bodies, seldom putting off either till they were ready to go away from him.

Prince Henry allowed him a pension, and kept him for his servant. *Sweet-meats* and *Coriat* made up the last course at all court entertainments. Indeed he was the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon: and sometimes this anvil returned the hammers as hard knocks as it received, his bluntness repaying their abusiveness.

His book, known by the name of 'Coriat's Crudities,' nauseous to nice readers, for the rawness thereof, is not altogether useless; though the porch be more worth than the palace, I mean, the preface, of other men's mock-commending verses thereon.

Worthies: Somerset. Mem. Pers.

Characters (*continued*)

Sir Rowland Cotton

Incredible are the most true relations, which many eye-witnesses, still alive, do make of the valour and activity of this most accomplished knight; so strong, as if he had been nothing but bones; so nimble, as if he had been nothing but sinews. *Worthies: Shropshire.*

Thomas Cromwell

Match-makers betwixt private persons seldom find great love for their pains, betwixt princes often fall into danger,—as here it proved in the lord Cromwell, the grand contriver of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves.

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Cleves. On him the king had conferred honours so many, and so suddenly, that one may say, the crudities thereof lay unconcocted in his soul, so that he could not have time to digest one dignity before another was poured upon him. Not to speak of his Mastership of the Jewel-house, he was made Baron, Master of the Rolls, the King's Vicar-General in spiritual matters, Lord Privy Seal, Knight of the Garter, Earl of Essex, Lord Great Chamberlain of England. And my author observeth[1], that all these honours were conferred upon him in the compass of five years, most of them possessed by him not five months; I may add, and all taken from him in less than five minutes, with his life on the scaffold.

This was the cause why he was envied of the nobility and gentry,—being by birth so much beneath all, by preferment so high above most of them. Besides, many of his advancements were interpreted not so much honours to him as injuries to others, as being either in use improper—or in equity unfit—or in right unjust—or in conscience unlawful—for him to accept. His Mastership of the Rolls, such who were bred lawyers conceived it fitter for men of their profession. As for the earldom of Essex conferred upon him, though the title lately became void by the death of Henry Bourchier, the last earl without issue-male, (and so in the strictness of right in the king's free disposal,) yet because he left Anne, a sole daughter, behind him, Cromwell's invading of that honour bred no good blood towards him amongst the kindred of that orphan, who were

[1] Camden.

honourable

Characters (*continued*).

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honourable and numerous. His Lord Great Chamberlainship of England, being an office for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable house of Oxford, incensed all of all that family, when beholding him possessed thereof. His Knighthood of the Garter, which custom has appropriated to such who by three degrees at least could prove their gentle descent, being bestowed on him, did but enrage his competitors thereof, more honourably extracted. As for his being the King's Vicar-General in spiritual matters, all the clergy did rage thereat, grudging much that King Henry the substance—and, more, that Cromwell his shadow—should assume so high a title to himself. Besides, Cromwell's name was odious unto them, on the account of abbeys dissolved; and no wonder, if this Samson, plucking down the pillars of the popish church, had the rest of the structure falling upon him. These rejoiced when the duke of Norfolk arrested him for treason at the council-table, July 9th, whence he was sent prisoner to the Tower.

And now, to speak impartially of him, though in prison: If we reflect on his parts and endowments, it is wonderful to see how one quality in him befriended another. Great scholar he was none, (the Latin Testament gotten by heart being the master-piece of his learning,) nor any studied lawyer, (never long living, if admitted, in the Inns of Court,) nor experienced soldier, (though necessity cast on him that calling, when the duke of Bourbon besieged Rome,) nor courtier in his youth, till bred in the court, as I may call it, of cardinal Wolsey's house; and yet, that of the lawyer in

him

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him so helped the scholar; that of the soldier, the lawyer; that of the courtier, the soldier; and that of the traveller so perfected all the rest,—being no stranger to Germany, well acquainted with France, most familiar with Italy,—that the result of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to say admirable.

Ch. Hist. B. v. S. v. 20, 22.

Sir Francis Drake

His escape from shipwreck

On January 9th, 1579, his ship, having a large wind and a smooth sea, ran aground on a dangerous shoal, and struck twice on it; knocking twice at the door of death, which, no doubt, had opened the third time. Here they stuck, from eight o'clock at night till four the next afternoon, having ground too much, and yet too little to land on; and water too much, and yet too little to sail in. Had God (who, as the wise man saith, 'holdeth the winds in his fist,' Prov. xxx. 4) but opened his little finger, and let out the smallest blast, they had undoubtedly been cast away; but there blew not any wind all the while. Then they, conceiving aright that the best way to lighten the ship was, first, to ease it of the burden of their sins by true repentance, humbled themselves, by fasting, under the hand of God. Afterwards they received the communion, dining on Christ in the sacrament, expecting no other than to sup with him in heaven. Then they cast out of their ship six great pieces of ordnance, threw overboard as much wealth as would break the heart of a miser to think on it, with much sugar, and packs of spices, making a caudle of the sea round

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round about. Then they betook themselves to their prayers, the best lever at such a dead lift indeed; and it pleased God, that the wind, formerly their mortal enemy, became their friend; which, changing from the starboard to the larboard of the ship, and rising by degrees, cleared them off to the sea again,—for which they returned unfeigned thanks to Almighty God. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. xxii.

Characters (*continued*)

Sir Francis Drake

Disappointment and Death

Now began Sir Francis's discontent to feed upon him. He conceived, that expectation, a merciless usurer, computing each day since his departure, exacted an interest and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparations, and transcending his former achievements. He saw that all the good which he had done in this voyage, consisted in the evil he had done to the Spaniards afar off, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England. These apprehensions, accompanying, if not causing, the disease of the flux, wrought his sudden death, January 28th, 1595. And sickness did not so much untie his clothes, as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality asunder. He lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it. Thus an extempore performance (scarce heard to be begun, before we hear it is ended) comes off with better applause, or miscarries with less disgrace, than a long-studied and openly-premeditated action. Besides, we see how great spirits, having mounted to the highest pitch of performance,

formance, afterwards strain and break their credits in striving to go beyond it. Lastly, God oftentimes leaves the brightest men in an eclipse, to show that they do but borrow their lustre from his reflexion. We will not justify all the actions of any man, though of a tamer profession than a sea-captain, in whom civility is often counted preciseness. For the main, we say that this our captain was a religious man towards God and his houses, (generally sparing churches where he came), chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true of his word, and merciful to those that were under him, hating nothing so much as idleness: and therefore, lest his soul should rust in peace, at spare hours he brought fresh water to Plymouth. Careful he was for posterity, (though men of his profession have as well an ebb of riot, as a float of fortune,) and providently raised a worshipful family of his kindred. In a word: should those that speak against him fast till they fetch their bread where he did his, they would have a good stomach to eat it. *Idem.*

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Mr. John Dod

The same year with this archbishop (Laud), died another divine, (though of a different judgment,) no less esteemed amongst men of his own persuasion; namely, Mr. John Dod, who, in the midst of troublesome times, quietly withdrew himself to heaven. He was born at Shotledge in Cheshire, the youngest of seventeen children; bred in Jesus College in Cambridge. At a disputation at one Commencement he was so facetiously solid, (wild yet sweet fruits which the stock brought forth before grafted with

Characters (*continued*).

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with grace,) that Oxford-men, there present, courted him home with them, and would have planted him in their university, save that he declined it.

He was a passive nonconformist, not loving any one the worse for difference in judgment about ceremonies, but all the better for their unity of affections in grace and goodness. He used to retrench some hot spirits when inveighing against bishops, telling them how God under that government had given a marvellous increase to the Gospel; and that godly men might comfortably comport therewith, under which learning and religion had so manifest an improvement. He was a good decalogist, and is conceived, to his dying day, (how roughly soever used by the opposite party,) to stick to his own judgment of what he had written on the fifth commandment, *of obedience to lawful authority.*

Some riotous gentlemen, casually coming to the table of Sir Anthony Cope, in Hanwell, were half-starved in the midst of a feast, because refraining from swearing, (meat and drink to them,) in the presence of Mr. Dod; of these one after dinner ingenuously professed, that he thought it had been impossible for himself to forbear oaths so long a time. Hereat Mr. Dod (the flame of whose zeal turned all accidents into fuel) fell into a pertinent and seasonable discourse (as better at occasionals) of what power men have, more than they know of themselves, to refrain from sin, and how active God's restraining grace would be in us to bridle us from wickedness, were we not wanting to ourselves.

Being stricken in years, he used to compare himself to Samson when his hair was cut off. 'I rise,' saith he,

'in

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'in a morning as Samson did, and think, I will go out as at other times, go, watch, walk, work, study, ride, as when a young man. But, alas! he quickly found an alteration; and so do I, who must stoop to age, which hath clipped my hair and taken my strength away.'

Being at Holdenby, and invited by an honourable person to see that stately house built by Sir Christopher Hatton, the master-piece of English architecture in that age, he desired to be excused, and to sit still looking on a flower which he had in his hand. 'In this flower,' saith he, 'I can see more of God than in all the beautiful buildings in the world.' And at this day, as his flower is long since withered, that magnificent pile, that fair flower of art, is altogether blasted and destroyed.

It is reported, he was but coarsely used of the Cavaliers; who, they say, plundered him of his linen and household-stuff, though, as some tell me, if so disposed, he might have redeemed all for a very small matter. However, the good man still remembered his old maxim,—'Sanctified afflictions are good promotions:' and I have been credibly informed, that, when the soldiers brought down his sheets out of the chamber into the room where Mr. Dod sat by the fire-side; he, in their absence to search after more, took one pair and clapped them under his cushion whereon he sat, much pleasing himself after their departure that he had, as he said, plundered the plunderers, and by a lawful felony saved so much of his own to himself.

He was an excellent scholar, and was as causelessly accused, as another John of his name, (Mr. John Fox I mean,) for lacking of Latin. He was also an exquisite Hebrician

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Hebrician; and, with his society and directions, in one vacation taught that tongue unto Mr. John Gregory, that rare linguist, and chaplain of Christ Church, who survived him but one year; and now they both together praise God in that language which glorified saints and angels use in heaven.

He was buried at Fauseley in Northamptonshire, with whom the Old Puritan may seem to expire, and in his grave to be interred; humble, meek, patient, hospitable, charitable as in his censures of—so in his alms to—others. Would I could truly say but half so much of the next generation! *Ch. Hist.* B. xi. S. ix. 85.

Characters (*continued*)

King Edward I

The death of King Edward I. gave a great advancement to the Pope's encroaching. A worthy prince he was, fixed in his generation betwixt a weak father and a son; as if made wise and valiant by their antiperistasis: equally fortunate in drawing and sheathing the sword, in war and peace; having taught the English loyalty, by them almost forgotten; and the Welsh, subjection, which they never learned before. In himself, religiously disposed; founded the famous abbey of Vale Royal for the Cistercians in Cheshire, and by will bequeathing thirty-two thousand pounds to the Holy War: obedient, not servile, to the see of Rome: a foe to the pride, and friend to the profession, of the clergy; whom he watered with his bounty, but would not have to spread so broad as to justle, or grow so high as to overtop the regal authority; dying in due time for himself, almost seventy years old:

but

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but too soon for his subjects, especially for his son, whose giddy youth lacked a guide to direct him. In a word: As the arm of King Edward I. was accounted the measure of a yard, generally received in England; so his actions are an excellent model and a praiseworthy platform for succeeding princes to imitate.

Ch. Hist. B. iii. S. vii. 11.

King Edward II

The calamitous reign of King Edward II. afforded little history of the Church, though too much of the commonwealth except it had been better. A debauched prince this Edward was; his beauty being the best (not to say only) commendable thing about him. He had an handsome man-case, and better it had been empty with weakness, than (as it was) ill-fitted with viciousness. Pierce Gaveston first corrupted him, maugre all the good counsel that Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, and all his good friends, could give him. And, when Gaveston was killed and taken away, the king's badness was rather doubled, than diminished; exchanging one pandar to vice for two, the two Spencers. In a word, the court was turned tavern, stews, stage, play-house: wherein as many vain and wanton comedies were acted before the king in his lifetime, so a sad and sorrowful tragedy was acted by him at his death. *Ch. Hist.* B. iii. S. vii. 13.

Queen Eleanor

It is storied, how Eleanor his lady sucked all the poison out of his wounds, without doing any harm to herself; so sovereign a medicine is a woman's tongue, anointed with the

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the virtue of loving affection. Pity it is so pretty a story should not be true (with all the miracles in Lover's Legends), and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex; yet can it not stand with what others have written how the physician who was to dress his wounds spake to the Lord Edmund and the Lord John Voysey to take away Lady Eleanor out of the prince's presence, lest her pity should be cruel towards him, in not suffering his sores to be searched to the quick. And though she cried out and wrung her hands, 'Madam,' said they, 'be contented; it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of England should lament a great season:' and so they conducted her out of the place. And the prince, by the benefit of physic, good attendance, and an antidote the master of the Templars gave him, showed himself on horseback whole and well within fifteen days after.

Holy War, B. iv. C. xxix.

Characters (*continued*)

Queen Elizabeth, her Death

Then prepared she herself for another world, being more constant in prayer and pious exercises than ever before. Yet spake she very little to any, sighing out more than she said, and making still music to God in her heart. And as the red rose, though outwardly not so fragrant, is inwardly far more cordial than the damask, being more thrifty of its sweetness, and reserving it in itself; so the religion of this dying queen was most turned inward, in soliloquies betwixt God and her own soul

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soul, though she wanted not outward expressions thereof. When her speech failed her, she spake with her heart, tears, eyes, hands, and other signs, so commending herself to God, the best Interpreter, who understands what his saints desire to say. Thus died Queen Elizabeth; whilst living, the first maid on earth; and, when dead, the second in heaven.

Surely, the kingdom had died with their queen, had not the fainting spirits thereof been refreshed by the coming-in of gracious King James.

She was of person, tall; of hair and complexion, fair, well-favoured, but high-nosed; of limbs and features, neat; of a stately and majestic deportment. She had a piercing eye, wherewith she used to touch what metal [mettle] strangers were made of, who came into her presence. But as she counted it a pleasant conquest, with her majestic look to dash strangers out of countenance; so she was merciful in pursuing those whom she overcame; and afterwards would cherish and comfort them with her smiles, if perceiving towardliness and an ingenuous modesty in them. She much affected rich and costly apparel; and if ever jewels had just cause to be proud, it was with her wearing them. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. xv.

Erasmus' Complaint of College Ale

Erasmus often complained of the College-ale, *cervisia hujus loci mihi nullo modo placet*,—as raw, small, and windy; whereby it appears, 1. Ale in that age was the constant beverage of all Colleges before the innovation of beer (the child of hops) was brought into England. 2. Queen's College *cervisia* was not *vis Cereris*

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Cereris, but *Ceres vitiata*. In my time, (when I was a member of that house,) scholars continued Erasmus's complaint; whilst the brewers (having, it seems, prescription on their side for long time) little amended it. The best was, Erasmus had his *lagena* or flagon of wine recruited weekly from his friends at London; which he drank sometimes singly by itself, and sometimes encouraged his faint ale with the mixture thereof.

Hist. Camb. S. v. 48.

Characters (*continued*)

John Feckehnam

The same year also John Feckenham late abbot of Westminster, ended his life: whereon we must enlarge ourselves, if not for his, for history's sake, seeing he was a landmark therein; his personal experience being a chronicle, who, like the axletree, stood firm and fixed in his own judgment, whilst the times, like the wheels, turned backwards and forwards round about him. He was born in Worcestershire, in the forest of Feckenham, (whence he fetched his name,) bred a Benedictine monk in the abbey of Evesham, where he subscribed with the rest of his Order to the resignation of that house into the hands of King Henry VIII. Afterwards he studied in Oxford, then applied himself first to Bell, bishop of Worcester, and after his death to Bonner, of London, where he crossed the proverb, 'Like master, like man,' the patron being cruel, the chaplain kind, to such who in judgment dissented from him. He never dissembled his religion, being a zealous papist, and under King Edward VI. suffered much for his conscience.

In

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In the reign of queen Mary, he was wholly employed in doing good offices for the afflicted protestants, from the highest to the lowest. The earl of Bedford, and (who afterwards were) of Warwick and Leicester, tasted of his kindness: so did Sir John Cheke, yea, and the lady Elizabeth herself; so interposing his interest with queen Mary for her enlargement, that he incurred her Grace's displeasure. Hence it is that papists complain, that in the reign of queen Elizabeth he reaped not a crop of courtesy proportionable to his large seed thereof in the days of queen Mary.

Queen Mary afterwards preferred him from being dean of Paul's to be abbot of Westminster; which church she erected and endowed for Benedictine monks, of which order fourteen only could be found in England, then extant since their dissolution, which were unmarried, unpreferred to cures, and unaltered in their opinions. These also were brought in with some difficulty at first, and opposition; for the prebendaries of Westminster, legally settled in their places, would not resign them, till cardinal Pole, partly by compulsion, partly by compensation, obtained their removal.

Queen Elizabeth, coming to the crown, sent for abbot Feckenham to come to her, whom the messenger found setting of elms in the orchard of Westminster abbey. But he would not follow the messenger till first he had finished his plantation, which his friends impute to his soul employed in mystical meditations,—that as the trees he there set should spring and sprout many years after his decease, so his new plantation of Benedictine monks in Westminster should take root and flourish, in defiance

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of all opposition; which is but a bold conjecture of others at his thoughts. Sure I am, those monks long since are extirpated; but how his trees thrive at this day, is to me unknown. Coming afterwards to the queen, what discourse passed betwixt them, they themselves knew alone. Some have confidently guessed she proffered him the archbishopric of Canterbury, on condition he would conform to her laws; which he utterly refused.

In the treaty between the protestants and papists, *primo Elizabethæ*, he was present: but in what capacity, I cannot satisfy myself: surely more than a disputant, (amongst whom he was not named,) yet not so much as a moderator. And yet his judgment, perchance because abbot, and so principal man in that place, was asked with respect, and heard with reverence, his moderation being much commended: Now, although he was often confined, sometimes to the Tower, sometimes to friends' houses, (and died, it seems, at last in restraint in Wisbeach Castle,) yet generally he found fair usage from the protestants. He built a conduit in Holborn, and a cross in Wisbeach, and relieved the poor wheresoever he came. So that flies flock not thicker about spilt honey than beggars constantly crowded about him.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. vi. 34–38.

Characters (*continued*)

Death of the Emperor Frederick

But Frederick the emperor, being now entering into the Holy Land, was, to the great grief of all Christians, suddenly taken away, being drowned in the river of Saleph;

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Saleph; a river (such is the envy of barbarism, obscuring all places) which cannot accurately be known at this day, because this new name is a stranger to all ancient maps. If he went in to wash himself, as some write, he neither consulted with his health nor honour: some say his horse foundered under him as he passed the water; others, that he fell from him. But these several relations, as variety of instruments, make a doleful concert in this, that there he lost his life: and no wonder, if the cold water quickly quenched those few sparks of natural heat left in him at seventy years of age. Neubrigensis conceiveth that this his sudden death was therefore inflicted on him because, in his youth, he fought against the popes and church of Rome: but I wonder that he, seeing the emperor drowned in a ditch, durst adventure into the bottomless depths of God's counsels. Let it content us to know, that oftentimes heaven blasteth those hopes which bud first and fairest; and the feet of mighty monarchs do slip, when they want but one step to their enemies' throne. *Holy War*, B. iii. C. 4.

Frederick II, Emperor

Little hope have I to content the reader in this king's life, who cannot satisfy myself; writers of that age are so possessed with partiality. The faction of the Guelfes and Gibellines discovereth not itself more plainly in the camp than in the chronicles; yea, historians turn schoolmen in matters of fact, arguing them *pro et con.* And as it is in the fable of the man that had two wives, whilst his old wife plucked out his black hairs, the evidence of his youth, his young one un-grayhaired him, that no

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standards of antiquity might remain, they made him bald betwixt them: so amongst our late writers; whilst Protestants cut off the authority from all papized writers of that age, and Romanists cast away the witness of all imperialized authors then living (such as Urspergensis is, and generally all Germans), counting them *testes domesticos*, and therefore of no validity: betwixt them they draw all history of that time very slender, and make it almost quite nothing. We will not engage ourselves in their quarrel; but may safely believe that Frederick was neither saint nor devil, but man. Many virtues in him his foes must commend, and some vices his friends must confess. He was very learned, according to the rate of that age, especially for a prince, who only baiteth at learning, and maketh not his profession to lodge in. Wise he was in projecting, nor were his thoughts ever so scattered with any sudden accident, but he could instantly recollect himself. Valiant he was, and very fortunate, though this tendeth more to God's praise than his; wondrous bountiful to scholars and soldiers, whose good will he enjoyed, for he paid for it. . . . In a word, he was a better emperor than a man, his vices being personal, most hurting himself; his virtues of a public nature and accomplishing him for government. *Holy War*, B. iii. C. 29.

Characters (*continued*)

King Fulco

A PRINCE of a sweet nature; and though one would have read him to be very furious by his high-coloured countenance, yet his face was a good hypocrite; and

(*contra*

(*contra leges istius coloris*, saith Tyrius) he was affable, courteous, and pitiful to all in distress. *Id.* B. ii. C. 23.

Nicholas Fuller

He was most eminent for that grace which is most worth, yet costeth the least to keep it; I mean humility, who in his writings doth as fairly dissent from, as freely concur with, any man's opinions. He died about the year of our Lord 1626. *Worthies: Hants. Writers.*

Richard Greenham

His master-piece was in comforting wounded consciences. For, although Heaven's hand can only set a broken heart, yet God used him herein as an instrument of good to many, who came to him with weeping eyes, and went from him with cheerful souls. The breath of his gracious counsel blew up much smoking flax into a blazing flame.

Hereupon, the importunity of his friends (if herein they proved so) persuaded him to leave his parish, and remove to London, where his public parts might be better advantaged for the general good. They pleaded the little profit of his long pains to so poor and peevish a parish. Pity it was so good a fisherman should cast his nets elsewhere than in that ocean of people. What was Dry Drayton but a bushel to hide—London a high candlestick to hold up—the brightness of his parts? Over-entreated by others, even almost against his own judgment, he resigned his cure to a worthy successor, and repaired to London; where, after some years' preaching up and down

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down in no constant place, he was resident on no cure, but the curing of consciences. I am credibly informed, he in some sort repented his removal from his parish, and disliked his own erratical and planetary life, which made him fix himself preacher at last at Christ Church, in London, where he ended his days. . .

Thus goodly Greenham is fallen asleep; we softly draw the curtains about him and so proceed to other matter. *Ch. Hist.* B. ix. S. vii.

Characters (*continued*)

Archbishop Grindal

Whoso beholds the large revenues conferred on Grindal, the long time he enjoyed them, (bishop of London, archbishop of York and Canterbury, above eighteen years,) the little charge encumbering him, dying a single man, will admire at the mean estate he left behind him. Yea, perchance they will erroneously impute this to his prodigality, which more truly is to be ascribed to his contempt of the world, unwilling to die guilty of much wealth; not to speak of fat servants made under a lean master. The little he had, as it was well-gotten, was well-bestowed, in pious uses on Cambridge and Oxford, with the building and endowing of a school at St. Bees in Cumberland, where he was born. Yea, he may be beheld as a benefactor to the English nation, for bringing tamarisk first over into England. As the inventors of evil things are justly taxed by the apostle, Rom. i. 13; so the first importers of good things deserve due commendation; that plant being so sovereign to

mollify

mollify the hardness of the spleen; a malady whereof students (betrayed thereunto by their sedentary lives) too generally do complain. *Id.* B. ix. S. v. 25.

John Gower

John Gower was born, saith Leland, at Stitenham (in the North Riding in Bulmore Wapentake) of a knightly family. He was bred in London a student of the laws, till, prizing his pleasure above his profit, he quitted pleading to follow poetry. He was the first refiner of our English tongue, effecting much but endeavouring more therein. Thus he who sees the whelp of a bear but half licked, will commend it for a comely creature, in comparison of what it was when first brought forth. Indeed Gower left our English tongue very bad, but found it very very bad. *Worthies: Yorks. Writers.*

Gustavus Adolphus

After his death, how did men struggle to keep him alive in their reports! partly out of good-will, which made them kindle new hopes of his life at every spark of probability; partly out of infidelity, that his death could be true. First, they thought so valiant a prince could not live on earth; and when they saw his life, then they thought so valiant a prince could never die, but that his death was rather a concealment for a time, daily expecting when the politicly dead should have a resurrection in some noble exploit. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. 18.

Richard Hampole

Richard Role, alias Hampole, had his first name from his father, the other from the place (three miles from Doncaster)

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Doncaster) where living he was honoured, and dead was buried and sainted. He was an eremite, led a strict life, and wrote many books of piety, which I prefer before his prophetical predictions, as but a degree above almanac prognostications. He threatened the sins of the nation with future famine, plague, inundations, war, and general calamities from which no land is long free, but subject to them in some proportion. Besides, his predictions, if *hitting*, were *heeded:* if *missing*, not *marked.*

However, because it becomes me not ἁγιομαχεῖν, let him pass for a saint. I will add, that our Saviour's dilemma to the Jews may partly be pressed on the papists his contemporaries. If Hampole's doctrine was of men, why was he generally reputed a saint; if from God, why did they not obey him, seeing he spake much against the viciousness and covetousness of the clergy of that age? He died anno Domini 1349.

Worthies: Yorks. Saints.

Characters (*continued*)

Henry III

Quiet king Henry III, our English Nestor, (not for depth of brains, but length of life,) as who reigned fifty-six years, in which term he buried all his contemporary princes in Christendom twice over. All the months in a year may in a manner be carved out of an April day; hot, cold, dry, moist, fair, foul weather, being oft presented therein. Such the character of this king's life, certain only in uncertainty: sorrowful, successful; in plenty, in penury; in wealth, in want; conquered, conqueror.

Ch. Hist. B. iii. S. iii. 1.

Henry V

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Henry V

On the last of August, king Henry V ended his life in France; one of a strong and active body, neither shrinking in cold, nor slothful in heat, going commonly with his head uncovered: the wearing of armour was no more cumbersome unto him than a cloak. He never shrunk at a wound, nor turned away his nose for ill savour, nor closed his eyes for smoke or dust; in diet, none less dainty or more moderate; his sleep, very short but sound; fortunate in fight, and commendable in all his actions; verifying the proverb, that an ill youth may make a good man. The nunnery of Sion was built and endowed by him; and a college was by him intended in Oxford, had not death prevented him.

Id. B. iv. S. ii. 44.

Henry VIII

Henry VIII, . . . one of a beautiful person, and majestic presence, insomuch that his picture in all places is known at the first sight. As for the character of his mind, all the virtues and vices of all his predecessors from the Conquest may seem in him fully represented, both to their kind and degree,—learning, wisdom, valour, magnificence; cruelty, avarice, fury, and lust; following his pleasures whilst he was young, and making them come to him when he was old. Many memorable alterations in church and state happened in his age; as, God willing, hereafter shall appear.

Id. B. v. S. i. 5.

Richard

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Characters (*continued*)

Richard Hooker

Hooker was born in Devonshire, bred in Oxford, Fellow of Corpus Christi College; one of a solid judgment and great reading. Yea, such the depth of his learning, that his pen was a better bucket than his tongue to draw it out; a great defender both by preaching and writing of the discipline of the Church of England, yet never got (nor cared to get) any eminent dignity therein; conscience, not covetousness, engaging him in the controversy. Spotless was his conversation; and, though some dirt was cast, none could stick on his reputation. . . .

Mr. Hooker's voice was low, stature little, gesture none at all, standing stone-still in the pulpit, as if the posture of his body were the emblem of his mind, unmovable in his opinions. Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found fixed at the end of his sermon. In a word, the doctrine he delivered had nothing but itself to garnish it. His style was long and pithy, driving on a whole flock of several clauses before he came to the close of a sentence; so that when the copiousness of his style met not with proportionable capacity in his auditors, it was unjustly censured for perplexed, tedious, and obscure. His sermons followed the inclination of his studies, and were for the most part on controversies, and deep points of school-divinity.

Ch. Hist. ix. S. vii. 49, 53.

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. . .

HOOKER'S style was prolix, but not tedious; and such who would patiently attend and give him credit all the reading or hearing of his sentences, had their expectations over-paid at the close thereof. He may be said to have made good music with his fiddle and stick alone, without any resin; having neither pronunciation nor gesture to grace his matter. *Worthies: Devon. Writers.*

JEWEL, BISHOP OF SALISBURY

A JEWEL (sometimes taken for a single precious stone) is properly a collective of many, orderly set together to their best advantage. So several eminencies met in this worthy man; naturals, artificials, (amongst which I recount his studied memory, deserving, as well as Theodectes the sophister, the surname of *Mnemonicus*,) morals, but principally spirituals; so devout in the pew where he prayed, diligent in the pulpit where he preached, grave on the bench where he assisted, mild in the consistory where he judged, pleasant at the table where he fed, patient in the bed where he died, that well it were if, in relation to him, *secundum usum Sarum* were made precedential to all posterity. He gave at his death to Peter Martyr a golden rose, yet more fragrant for the worth of the giver than the value of the gift; to the city of Zurich, a present which they converted into a piece of plate with Jewel's arms thereon; to several scholars, large legacies; to the church of Salisbury, a fair library; and another, to the Church of England; I mean, his learned

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learned 'Apology.' It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying, and died praying. *Ch. Hist.* B. ix. S. iii. 2.

Characters (*continued*)

Bishop Jewel's Weakness

To return to Mr. Jewel: He had not lived long in Broadgates Hall, when, by the violence of the popish inquisitors being assaulted, on a sudden, to subscribe, he took a pen in his hand, and smiling, said, 'Have you a mind to see how well I can write?' and thereupon underwrit their opinions. Thus the most orient Jewel on earth hath some flaws therein. To conceal this his fault, had been partiality; to excuse it, flattery; to defend it, impiety; to insult over him, cruelty; to pity him, charity; to admire God, in permitting him, true devotion; to be wary of ourselves, in the like occasion, Christian discretion. *Ch. Hist.* B. viii. S. i. 15.

William Lily, first Schoolmaster of St. Paul's

William Lily was the first schoolmaster thereof, by Colet's own appointment: an excellent scholar, born at Odiam in Hampshire, and afterward he went on pilgrimage as far as Jerusalem. In his return through Italy he applied himself to his studies. . . . Returning home into his native country well-accomplished with Latin, Greek, and all arts and sciences, he set forth a grammar, which still goes under his name, and is universally taught all over England.

Many were the editions of this grammar; the first set forth

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forth *anno* 1513, when Paul's school was founded, as appears by that instance, *meruit sub rege in Gallia*, relating to Maximilian the German emperor, who then at the siege of Therovenne in Flanders, fought under the banner of king Henry VIII, taking an hundred crowns a day for his pay. Another edition, *anno* 1520, when *audito rege Doroberniam proficisci* refers to the king's speedy journey into Canterbury, there to give entertainment to Charles V emperor, lately landed at Dover.

Formerly there were in England almost as many grammars as schoolmasters, children being confounded, not only with their variety, but (sometimes) contrariety thereof; rules being true in the one which were false in the other. Yea, which was the worst, a boy when removed to a new school lost all he had learned before: whereupon king Henry endeavoured an uniformity of grammar all over his dominions; that so youths, though changing their schoolmasters, might keep their learning. This was performed, and William Lily's grammar enjoined universally to be used. A stipend of four pounds a year was allowed the king's printer for printing of it; and it was penal for any publicly to teach any other. I have been told how, lately, bishop Buckeridge examining a free school in his diocese of Rochester, the scholars were utterly ignorant of Lily's rules, as used to others; whereat the bishop exclaimed, 'What, are there Puritans also in grammar?'

I deny not but some since have discovered blasted leaves in our Lily, observing defects and faults therein; and commendable many persons' pains in amending them. However, it were to be desired, that no needless variations

be

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be made, and as much left of Lily as may be; the rather, because he submitted his *Syntaxis* to the judgment of Erasmus himself, so that it was afterward printed amongst his works. Indeed *Quæ Genus* was done by Thomas Robinson, and the Accidence (as some will have it) by other authors, after Lily was dead, and prince Edward born, of and for whom it was said, 'EDVARDUS is my proper name.' And thus we take our leave both of Lily and Paul's school, flourishing at this day as much as ever, under the care of Mr. John Langley, the able and religious schoolmaster thereof.

Ch. Hist. B. v. S. i. 17, 20.

Characters (*continued*)

QUEEN MARY

TAKE queen Mary in herself abstracted from her opinions, and by herself secluded from her bloody counsellors, and her memory will justly come under commendation. Indeed, she knew not the art of being popular, and never cared to learn it, and generally (being given more to her beads than her book) had less of learning, (or parts to get it,) than any of her father's children. She hated to equivocate in her own religion; and always was what she was, without dissembling her judgment or practice for fear or flattery; little beloved of her subjects, to whom though once she remitted an entire subsidy, yet it little moved their affections, because, though liberal in this act, she had been unjust in another,—her breach of promise

to

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to the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk. However, she had been a worthy princess, had as little cruelty been done under her as was done by her. Her devotion always commanded her profit, and oftentimes did fill the church with the emptying of her own exchequer.

Id. B. viii. S. iii. 53.

Toby Matthew, Archbishop

Within the compass of this year [1628] died the reverend Toby Matthew, archbishop of York. He was born in the Somersetshire side of Bristol, and in his childhood had a marvellous preservation, when with a fall he brake his foot, ancle, and small of his leg, which were so soon recovered to eye, use, sight, service, that not the least mark remained thereof. Coming to Oxford, he fixed at last in Christ Church, and became dean thereof. He was one of a proper person, (such people *cæteris paribus*, and sometimes *cæteris imparibus*, were preferred by the queen,) and an excellent preacher; Campian himself confessing, that he did *dominari in concionibus*. He was of a cheerful spirit, yet without any trespass on episcopal gravity; there lying a real distinction between facetiousness and nugacity. None could condemn him for his pleasant wit, though often he would condemn himself, as so habited therein, he could as well *not be*, as *not be merry*, and not take up an innocent jest as it lay in the way of his discourse. . . .

He died yearly in report; and I doubt not but that, in the apostle's sense, he died daily in his mortifying meditations. He went over the graves of many who looked for his archbishopric. I will not say, they catched

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catched a cold in waiting barefoot for a living man's shoes. His wife, the daughter of bishop Barlow, (a confessor in queen Mary's days,) was a prudent and a provident matron. Of this extraction came Sir Toby Matthew, having all his father's name, many of his natural parts, few of his moral virtues, fewer of his spiritual graces, as being an inveterate enemy to the protestant religion. Georgè Mountaine succeeded him, scarce warm in his church before cold in his coffin, as not continuing many months therein.

Ch. Hist. B. xi. S. i. 74, 76.

Characters (*continued*)

DR. METCALF, EXPELLED ST. JOHN'S COLL. CAMBRIDGE.

WELL, good old Metcalf must forsake the House. Methinks the blushing bricks seem ashamed of their ingratitudes; and each door, window, and casement in the college was a mouth to plead for him.

But what shall we say? Mark generally the grand deservers in States, and you shall find them lose their lustre before they end their life; the world, out of covetousness to save charges to pay them their wages, quarrelling with them, as if an over-merit were an offence. And whereas some impute this to the malignant influence of the heavens, I ascribe it rather to a pestilent vapour out of the earth; I mean, that rather men, than stars, are to be blamed for it.

He was twenty years Master; and on the fourth day of June, 1537, went out of his office, and it seems died soon after. His epitaph is fastened on a piece of brass

on

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on the wall, in the college chapel. We must not forget that all who were great doers in his expulsion were great sufferers afterwards, and died all in great misery. There is difference betwixt prying into God's secrets, and being stark blind. Yea, I question whether we are not bound to look where God points by so memorable a judgment, showing that those branches most justly withered which plucked up their own root. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. xv.

Walter Parsons

Born in this county, was first apprenticed to a smith, when he grew so tall in stature, that a hole was made for him in the ground, to stand therein up to the knees, so to make him adequate with his fellow-workmen. He afterwards was porter to king James; seeing as gates generally are higher than the rest of the building, so it was sightly that the porter should be taller than other persons. He was proportionable in all parts, and had strength equal to height, valour to his strength, temper to his valour; so that he disdained to do an injury to any single person. He would make nothing to take two of the tallest yeomen of the guard (like the gizzard and liver) under his arms at once, and order them as he pleased.

Yet were his parents (for ought I do understand to the contrary) but of an ordinary stature; whereat none will wonder who have read what St. Augustine reports of a woman which came to Rome (a little before the sacking thereof by the Goths) of so giant-like a height, that she was far above all who saw her, though infinite troops came to behold the spectacle. And yet he addeth,

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'Et hoc erat maximæ admirationis, quod ambo parentes ejus,' &c., (this made men most admire that both her parents were but of ordinary stature).

This Parsons is produced for proof that all ages afford some of extraordinary height, and that there is no general decay of mankind in their dimensions; which if there were, we had ere this time shrunk to be lower than pigmies, not to instance in a less proportion. This Parsons died anno Domini 162..

Worthies: Stafford. Remarkable Persons.

Characters (*continued*)

Mr. Perkins

His sermons were not so plain but that the piously learned did admire them, nor so learned but that the plain did understand them. What was said of Socrates, 'that he first humbled the towering speculations of philosophers into practice and morality;' so our Perkins brought the schools into the pulpit, and, unshelling their controversies out of their hard school-terms, made thereof plain and wholesome meat for his people. For he had a capacious head, with angles winding and roomy enough to lodge all controversial intricacies; and had not preaching diverted him from that way, he had no doubt attained to eminency therein. An excellent surgeon he was at jointing of a broken soul, and at stating of a doubtful conscience. And, sure, in case-divinity Protestants are defective. For, (save that a Smith or two of late have built them forges, and set up shop), we go down to our enemies to sharpen all our instruments,

and

and are beholden to them for offensive and defensive weapons in cases of conscience.

He would pronounce the word *damn* with such an emphasis, as left a doleful echo in his auditors' ears a good while after; and when catechist of Christ-College, in expounding the Commandments, applied them so home, able almost to make his hearers' hearts fall down, and hairs to stand upright. But in his older age he altered his voice, and remitted much of his former rigidness; often professing that to preach mercy was that proper office of the ministers of the Gospel.

Holy State, B. ii. C. x.

Francis Quarles

He was a most excellent poet, and had a mind biased to devotion. Had he been contemporary with Plato (that great back-friend to poets), he would not only have allowed him to live, but advanced him to an office in his commonwealth. *Worthies: Essex. Writers.*

Sir Walter Raleigh

'The sons of Heth said unto Abraham, Thou art a great prince amongst us; in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none shall withhold them from thee.' So may we say to the memory of this worthy knight, 'Repose yourself in this our catalogue under what topic you please, of statesman, seaman, soldier, learned writer, and what not?' His worth unlocks our closest cabinets; and provides both room and welcome to entertain him. *Id. Devon. Seamen.*

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Characters (*continued*)

Thomas Randolph

Thomas Randolph, born at Houghton in this county, was first bred in Westminster School, then fellow in Trinity College at Cambridge. The Muses may seem not only to have smiled, but to have been tickled at his nativity, such the festivity of his poems of all sorts. But my declining age, being superannuated to meddle with such ludicrous matters, consigneth the censure and commendation of his poems (as also of his countryman Peter Haulsted, born at Oundle in this county) to younger pens, for whom it is most proper. Master Randolph died anno Domini 1671.

Worthies: Northampton. Writers.

Saladin

Saladin was the first of the Turkish kings who began the gainful trade of the mamalukes. These were Christian captives, brought out of Taurica Chersonesus, and instructed as in Mahometanism so in all military discipline; Saladin disposing them in martial nurseries, and continuing a constant succession of them one under another. It is above belief how much and speedily they were improved in warlike exercises: art doubled their strength by teaching them to use it. And though they came rough out of their own country, they were quickly hewn and polished by education; yea, their apprehensions prevented the precepts, and their practice surpassed the precedents of those that instructed them. And it is observed

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observed in fruits and flowers, that they are much bettered by change to a fitter soil; so were these people by altering their climate: the cold country wherein they were bred gave them big and robustious bodies; and the hot climate whereinto they were transplanted ripened their wits, and bestowed upon them craft and activity, the dowry of the southern countries. They attained to be expert in any service, especially were they excellent horsemen; and at last they began to ride on the backs and necks of the Turkish kings themselves.

True it is, Saladin kept his distance over them, used them kindly, yet made them not wantons; and so poised these mamalukes with his native Egyptians, that in all actions he still reserved the casting voice for himself. But Meladin and Melechsala, his successors, entertained them without number, and instructed them beyond reason, so that under them in a manner they monopolized all places of strength and command; till at last, the stem of these mercenary soldiers being too great for the stock of the natives, the Turkish kingdom in Egypt, like a top-heavy tree, became a windfall. Indeed, the dastardness of the Egyptians made these mamalukes more daring and insolent. For the Egyptians more loved profit than honour, and wealth than greatness; and though contented to abide labour, would in nowise undergo danger. Merchandise they were wholly employed in; and it seemed they used trading so long, till at last they made sale of their own spirits. Yea, one could not now know Egypt to be Egypt, but only by the overflowing of the Nile, not by any remaining ancient marks of valour in the people's disposition. Thus the genius

of

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of old kingdoms in time groweth weaker, and doteth at the last.

But, whoever knew a wall that had no better cement, to stand so sure and so long? Two hundred sixty and seven years this state endured: and yet had it to do with strong and puissant enemies. Some kingdoms owe their greatness not so much to their own valour and wisdom as to the weakness of their neighbours, but it fared not thus with the mamalukes. To omit Prester John, who neighboured them on the south, on all other sides they were encompassed with potent opposers, from whom right valiantly they defended themselves, till in the year 1517 they were overcome by Selimus, the great Turkish emperor.

To conclude: as for the Amazons and their brave achievements, with much valour and no manhood, they and their state had only being in the brains of fabulous writers. As for the Assassins, or regiment of rogues, it never spread to the breadth of any great country, nor grew to the height of a kingdom; but, being the jakes of the world, was cast out in a place betwixt barren hills. But this empire of vassals was every way wonderful, stretching so far over all Egypt and most of Syria, and lasting so long. A strange state, wherein slavery was the first step to their throne, and apostasy the first article in their religion! *Holy War*, B. iv. C. 19.

Characters (*continued*)

Thomas Sternhold

He was a principal instrument of translating the Psalms into English meter; the first twenty-six (and seven-and-thirty

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and-thirty in all) being by him performed. Yet had he other assistance in that work. Many a bitter scoff hath since been past on their endeavours by some wits, which might have been better employed. Some have miscalled these their translations *Geneva gigs*; and, which is the worst, father, or mother rather, the expression on our virgin queen, as falsely as other things have been charged upon her. Some have not sticked to say, 'that David hath been as much persecuted by bungling translators, as by Saul himself.' Some have made libellous verses in abuse of them; and no wonder if songs were made on the translators of the Psalms, seeing drunkards made them on David the author thereof.

But let these translations be beheld by impartial eyes, and they will be allowed to go in equipage with the best poems in that age. However it were to be wished that some bald rhymes therein were bettered; till which time such as sing them must endeavour to amend them, by singing them with understanding heads, and gracious hearts, whereby that which is bad meter on earth will be made good music in heaven. *Worthies: Hants. Writers.*

The Legend of Simon Stock

We must not forget how the Carmelites boast very much of one Simon Stock of their order, a Kentish-man, or rather Kentish-boy; which, being but twelve years of age, went out into the woods, and there fed on roots and wild fruit, living in the trunk of a hollow tree, whence he got the surname of Stock, having a revelation,—that soon after some should come out of Syria, and confirm his order; which came to pass when the Carmelites came here.

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here. He afterwards became master-general of their order, (to whom the respective provincials are accountable,) and is said to be famous for his miracles. Let Syria, then, boast no longer of the sanctity of their Simon Stulites, so called, it seems, because constantly living about a stone-pillar; our Simon STOCK may mate their Simon STONE in all particulars of holiness; though, under the rose be it spoken, Mr. Richard Stock, the painful minister of St. All-hallows, Bread-Street, in London, for thirty-two years did advance God's glory more than both of them. *Ch. Hist.* B. vi. S. i. 21.

Characters (*continued*)

THOMAS TARLTON THE JESTER

MY intelligence of the certainty of his birth-place coming too late, I fix him here, who indeed was born at Condover in the neighbouring county of Shropshire, where still some of his name and relations remain. Here he was in the field, keeping his father's swine, when a servant of Robert earl of Leicester (passing this way to his lord's lands in his barony of Denbigh) was so highly pleased with his *happy unhappy* answers, that he brought him to court, where he became the most famous jester to queen Elizabeth.

Many condemn his (vocation I cannot term it, for it is a *coming* without a *calling*) employment as unwarrantable. Such maintain, that it is better to be a fool of God's making, born so into the world, or a fool of man's making, jeered into it by general derision, than a fool of one's own making, by his voluntary affecting thereof. Such say also, he had better continued in his trade of swine-keeping,

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keeping, which (though more painful, and less profitable) his conscience changed to loss, for a jester's place in the court, who, of all men, have the hardest account to make for every idle word that they abundantly utter.

Others allege, in excuse of their practices, that princes in all ages were allowed their ἀρεταλόγοι, whose virtue consisted in speaking anything without control: that jesters often heal what flatterers hurt, so that princes by them arrive at the notice of their errors, seeing jesters carry about with them an act of indemnity for whatsoever they say or do: that princes, overburdened with state-business, must have their diversions; and that those words are not censurable for absolutely idle which lead to lawful delight.

Our Tarlton was master of his faculty. When queen Elizabeth was serious (I dare not say sullen) and out of good humour, he could *un-dumpish* her at his pleasure. Her highest favourites would, in some cases, go to Tarlton before they would go to the queen, and he was their usher to prepare their advantageous access unto her. In a word, he told the queen more of her faults than most of her chaplains, and cured her melancholy better than all of her physicians.

Much of his merriment lay in his very looks and actions, according to the epitaph written upon him:

'Hic situs est cujus poterat vox, actio, vultus,
Ex Heraclito reddere Democritum.'

Indeed the self-same words, spoken by another, would hardly move a merry man to smile; which, uttered by him, would force a sad soul to laughter.

This is to be reported to his praise, that his jests never were

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were profane, scurrilous, nor satirical; neither trespassing on piety, modesty, or charity, as in which *plurimum inerat salis, multum aceti, aliquid sinapis, nihil veneni.* His death may proportionably be assigned about the end of Queen Elizabeth. *Worthies: Stafford. Memorable Persons.*

Characters (*continued*)

Lady Temple

Dame Hester Temple, daughter to Miles Sands, Esquire, was born at Latmos in this county, and was married to Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, Baronet. She had four sons and nine daughters, which lived to be married, and so exceedingly multiplied, that this lady saw seven hundred extracted from her body. Reader, I speak within compass, and have left myself a reserve, having bought the truth hereof by a wager I lost..... Had I been one of her relations, and as well enabled as most of them be, I would have erected a monument for her—thus designed. A fair tree should have been erected, the said lady and her husband lying at the bottom or root thereof; the heir of the family should have ascended both the middle and top bough thereof. On the right hand hereof her younger sons, on the left her daughters should, as so many boughs, be spread forth. Her grandchildren should have their names inscribed on the branches of those boughs; the great grandchildren on the twigs of those branches; the great great grandchildren on the leaves of those twigs. Such as survived her death should be done in a lively green, the rest (as blasted) in a pale and yellow fading colour.

Id. Bucks. Memorable Persons.

Theodorus,

Theodorus, the Patriarch

Soon after his retiring, he ended his life. We need not inquire into his disease, if we consider his age, accounting now fourscore-and-four Winters. And well might his years be reckoned by Winters, as wanting both Springs and Summers of prosperity, living in constant affliction. And yet the last four years made more wounds in his heart, than all the former ploughed wrinkles in his face. He died, not guilty of any wealth, who long before had made the poor his heirs, and his own hands his executors. After hearty prayers that religion might shine when he was set, falling into a pious meditation, he went out as a lamp, for lack of oil. No warning groan was sighed forth to take his last farewell, but even he smiled himself into a corpse; enough to confute those that they belie death, who call her grim and grisly, which in him seemed lovely and of a good complexion! The few servants he left, proportioned the funeral rather to their master's estate than deserts, supplying, in their sorrow, the want of spices and balm; which, surely, must be so much the more precious, as the tears of men are to be preferred before gums, which are but the weeping of trees. *Holy State*, B. v. C. xviii. S. iv. 11.

Archbishop of Tyre

William Archbishop of Tyre, a pious man and excellent scholar, skilled in all the learned Oriental tongues, besides the Dutch, and French his native language; a moderate and faithful writer: for in the latter part of his history of the holy war, his eye guided his

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his hand, till at last the taking of the city of Jerusalem so shook his hand, that his pen fell out, and he wrote no more. *Holy War*, B. ii. C. 38.

Characters (*continued*)

Archbishop Warham

William Warham was born at Ockley, of worshipful parentage in this county; bred fellow and doctor of the laws in New College; employed by king Henry the Seventh (who never sent sluggard or fool on his errand) to Margaret duchess of Burgundy, and by him advanced bishop of London, then archbishop of Canterbury, living therein in great lustre, till eclipsed in power and profit by Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York.

It may be said, that England then had ten archbishops, if a figure and cipher amount to so many; or else, if it had but two, they were archbishop Thomas and archbishop Wolsey, drawing all causes to his court-legatine, whilst all other ecclesiastical jurisdictions in England kept a constant vacation. This, Warham bare with much moderation; contenting himself, that, as he had less honour, so he had less envy, and kept himself cool, whilst Wolsey, his screen, was often scorched with just and general hatred. *Worthies: Hants. Prelates.*

John Wickliffe

And here we will acquaint the reader, that, being to write the History of Wickliffe, I intend neither to deny, dissemble, defend, nor excuse any of his faults. 'We have this treasure,' saith the apostle, 'in earthen vessels,' 2 Cor. iv. 7; and he that shall endeavour to prove

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prove a pitcher of clay to be a pot of gold, will take great pains to small purpose. Yea, should I be over-officious to retain myself to plead for Wickliffe's faults, that glorious saint would sooner chide than thank me, unwilling that, in favour of him, truth should suffer prejudice. He was a man, and so subject to error; living in a dark age, more obnoxious to stumble; vexed with opposition, which makes men reel into violence; and therefore it is unreasonable, that the constitution and temper of his positive opinions should be guessed by his polemical heat, when he was chafed in disputation. But beside all these, envy hath falsely fathered many foul aspersions upon him. *Ch. Hist.* iv. S. i. 2.

His Unburying

Hitherto the corpse of John Wickliffe had quietly slept in his grave, about one-and-forty years after his death, till his body was reduced to bones, and his bones almost to dust. For though the earth in the chancel of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where he was interred, hath not so quick a digestion with the earth of Aceldama, to consume flesh in twenty-four hours, yet such the appetite thereof, and all other English graves, to leave small reversions of a body after so many years.

But now, such the spleen of the council of Constance, as they not only cursed his memory, as dying an obstinate heretic, but ordered that his bones (with this charitable caution, 'if it may be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people,') to be taken out of the ground, and thrown far off from any Christian burial.

In

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In obedience hereunto, Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, diocesan of Lutterworth, sent his officers (vultures with a quick sight scent at a dead carcase) to ungrave him accordingly. To Lutterworth they come, Sumner, Commissary, Official, Chancellor, Proctors, Doctors, and the servants (so that the remnant of the body would not hold out a bone, amongst so many hands) take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighbouring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.

Ch. Hist. B. iv. S. ii. 51, & 53.

Characters (*continued*)

Mr. Wiemark

One Mr. Wiemark, a wealthy man, great novellant, and constant Paul's-walker, hearing the news that day of the beheading of Sir Walter Raleigh, 'His head,' said he, 'would do very well on the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton, secretary of state.' These words were complained of, and Wiemark summoned to the privy council, where he pleaded for himself, 'that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, whose known worth was above all detraction; only he spake in reference to an old proverb, 'Two heads are better than one.' And so for the present he was dismissed. Not long after, when rich men were called on for a contribution to St. Paul's,

Wiemark

Wiemark at the council-table subscribed a hundred pounds: but Mr. Secretary told him two hundred were better than one; which, betwixt fear and charity, Wiemark was fain to subscribe.

Worthies: Suffolk. Statesmen.

The three Sons of William the Conqueror, how denominated

William the Conqueror left three sons,—Robert, William, and Henry: and, because hereditary surnames were not yet fixed in families, they were thus denominated and distinguished:—1. The eldest from *his goods of fortune*, to which clothes are reduced, Robert Curthose from the short hose he wore; not only for fancy, but sometimes for need, cutting his coat according to his cloth; his means, all his life long, being scant and necessitous. 2. The second from *the goods of his body*, namely, a ruddy complexion, William Rufus, or 'Red.' But, whether a lovely and amiable or ireful and choleric red, the reader, on perusal of his Life, is best able to decide. 3. The third from *the goods of his mind*, and his rich abilities of learning, Henry Beauclerk, or, 'the good scholar.' *Ch. Hist.* B. iii. S. i. 26.

Archbishop Williams

Retiring himself into North Wales, (where his birth, estate, alliance, but chiefly hospitality did make him popular,) he had a great—but endeavoured a greater—influence on those parts. It gave some distaste, that in all consultations he would have his advice pass for an oracle, not to be contested with, much less controlled by any

Characters (*continued*)—Archbishop Williams

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any. But vast the difference betwixt his orders in Chancery, armed with power to enforce obedience, and his counsel here, which many military men (as in their own element) took the boldness to contradict; buff coats often rubbed and grated against this prelate's silk cassock, which (because of the softer matter) was the sooner fretted therewith. Indeed, he endeavoured as much as might be to preserve his country from taxes, (an acceptable and ingratiating design with the people,) but sometimes inconsistent with the king's present and pressing necessities. All his words and deeds are represented at Oxford (where his court-interest did daily decline) to his disadvantage, and some jealousies are raised of his cordialness to the royal cause.

At last some great affronts were put upon him, (increased with his tender resenting of them,) being himself, as I have been informed, put out of Commission, and another placed in his room: a disgrace so much the more insupportable to his high spirit, because he conceived himself much meriting of his majesty, by his loyalty, industry, ability, and expense in his cause, who hitherto had spared neither care nor cost in advancing the same, even to the impairing of his own estate.

But now he entereth on a design, which had I line and plummet, I want skill to manage them in measuring the depth thereof. He sueth to the parliament for favour, and obtained it, whose general in a manner he becomes in laying siege to the town and castle of Aberconway, till he had reduced it to their service, and much of the town to his own possession.

And

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And now *meruit sub parliamento in Wallia* is the wonder of all men. I confess he told his kinsman who related it to me, that if he might have the convenience to speak with his majesty but one half-hour, (a small time for so great a task,) he doubted not but to give him full satisfaction for his behaviour. Sure it is, those of the royal party, and his own order, which could not mine into his invisible motives, but surveyed only the sad surface of his actions, condemn the same as irreconcilable with the principles he professed. And though hereby he escaped a composition for his estate in Goldsmith's Hall, yet his memory is still to compound (and at what rate I know not) with many mouths, before a good word can be afforded unto it. But these, perchance, have never read the well-Latined 'Apology' in his behalf. And although some will say, that they that need an apology come too near to fault, the word (as commonly taken) sounding more of excuse than defence; yet, surely, in its genuine notation it speaks, not guilt, but always greatness of enemies and opposers.

Of all English divines since the Reformation, he might make the most experimental sermon on the apostle's words, 'By honour and dishonour, by ill report and good report;' though the method not so applicable as the matter unto him, who did not close and conclude with the general good esteem, losing by his last compliance his old friends at Oxford, and, in lieu of them, finding few new ones at London.

Envy itself cannot deny, but that, whithersoever he went, he might be traced by the footsteps of his benefaction. Much he expended on the repair of

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Characters (*continued*)—ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS.

Westminster Abbey church; and his answer is generally known, when pressed by bishop Laud to a larger contribution to St. Paul's, that he would not rob Peter to pay Paul. The library of Westminster was the effect of his bounty; and so was a chapel in Lincoln College in Oxford, having no other relation thereunto than as the namesake of his bishopric: so small an invitation will serve to call a coming charity. At St. John's in Cambridge he founded two fellowships, built a fair library, and furnished it with books; intending more, had his bounty then met with proportionable entertainment. But benefactors may give money, but not grateful minds, to such as receive it.

He was very chaste in his conversation, whatsoever a nameless author hath written on the contrary: whom his confuter hath styled, *aulicus e coquinariâ*, or 'the courtier out of the kitchen,' and that deservedly for his unworthy writings, out of what dripping-pan soever he licked this his sluttish intelligence. For most true it is, (as I am certainly informed from such who knew the privacies and casualties of his infancy,) this archbishop was but one degree removed from a misogynist, yet, to palliate his infirmity, to noble females he was most complete in his courtly addresses.

He hated popery with a perfect hatred; and though oft declaring freedom and favour to imprisoned papists, as a minister of state, in obedience to his office; yet he never procured them any courtesies out of his proper inclinations. Yea, when Dr. [Bishop], the new bishop of Chalcedon, at the end of king James's reign, first arrived in England, he gave the Duke of Buckingham advice,

(in

(in case other circumstances conveniently concurred), that the Judges should presently proceed against him, and hang him out of the way, and the king cast the blame on archbishop Abbot or himself, prepared (it seemeth) to undergo his royal displeasure therein.

Not out of sympathy to nonconformists, but antipathy to bishop Laud, he was favourable to some select persons of that opinion. Most sure it is, that in his greatness he procured for Mr. Cotton of Boston a toleration, under the Broad Seal, for the free exercise of his ministry, notwithstanding his dissenting in ceremonies, so long as done without disturbance to the church. But as for this bishop himself, he was so great an honourer of the English Liturgy, that, of his own cost, he caused the same to be translated into Spanish, and fairly printed, to confute their false conceit of our church, who would not believe that we used any Book of Common-Prayer amongst us.

He was of a proper person, comely countenance, and amiable complexion, having a stately garb and gait by nature, which (suppose him prouder than he should be) made him mistaken prouder than he was. His head was a well-filled treasury, and his tongue the fair key to unlock it. He had as great a memory as could be reconciled with so good a judgment; so quick his parts, that his extempore performances equalized the premeditations of others of his profession. He was very open, and too free in discourse, disdaining to lie at a close guard, so confident of the length and strength of his weapons.

Thus take we our farewell of his memory, concluding

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Characters *(continued)*—ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS.

it with one of his speeches, (as savoury, I believe, as ever any he uttered,) wherein he expressed himself to a grave minister coming to him for institution in a living. 'I have,' saith he, 'passed through many places of honour and trust, both in church and state, more than any of my order in England this seventy years before. But were I but assured that by my preaching I had converted but one soul unto God, I should take therein more spiritual joy and comfort, than in all the honours and offices which have been bestowed upon me.'

He died, as I take it, *anno* 1649; sure I am, on the 25th of March, leaving a leading case, (not as yet decided in our law,) whether his half-year's rents (due after sunrise) should go with his goods and chattels, unto his executor, or fall to his heir. The best was, such the providence of the parties concerned therein, that, before it came to a suit, they seasonably compounded it amongst themselves. *Ch. Hist.* B. xi. S. 10. 21–32.

Mutual Charity

WE see other men's, other men see our mistakes; so necessary is mutual candour and charity, because he who forgiveth to-day may have need to be forgiven to-morrow. *Worthies: Kent.*

Posthumous Charity

IT is the life of a gift, to be done in the life of the giver; far better than funeral legacies, which, like Benjamin, are born by the loss of a parent. For, it is not so kindly charity, for men to give what they can keep no longer:

longer: besides, such donations are most subject to abuses.

Silver in *the living*
Is gold in the giving;
Gold in *the dying*
Is but silver a-flying;
Gold and silver in *the dead*
Turn too often into lead.

Hist. Camb.: Sect. viii. ded.

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How scandalous was it that exiles of the same country, for the same cause, could not agree together! But man in misery, as well as 'man in honour, hath no understanding.' *Ch. Hist.* B. viii. S. iii. 16.

Cheerfulness

One said, he loved to hear his carter, though not his cart, to sing. 'God loveth a cheerful giver:' and Christ reproved the Pharisees for disfiguring their faces with a sad countenance. Fools, who, to persuade men that angels lodged in their hearts, hung out a devil for a sign in their faces! Sure, cheerfulness in doing renders a deed more acceptable. Not like those servants, who doing their work unwillingly, their looks do enter a protestation against what their hands are doing.

Holy State, B. i. C. 8. 2.

Entrance of Christianity into Britain

The entrance of the Gospel was facilitated by the Roman conquest. The entrance of the Gospel into this island was so far from being done in an instant, or, *simul et semel*, that it was not *res unius seculi*, 'the product of one age;' but was successively done, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως,

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τρόπως, 'at sundry times, and in divers manners.' So that this extensive entrance of the Christian religion, gradually insinuating itself, took up a century of years, from the latter end of Tiberius, and so forwards.

Christianity entered not into this island like lightning, but like light. None can behold this essay thereof in the time of Tiberius, otherwise than a morning-star; some forty years after, the day dawned; and lastly, under king Lucius, (that *leuer-maure*, or 'the great light,') the sun of religion may be said to arise; before which time, the south of this island was sufficiently colonized by the Romans, whereby commerce and civility ushered Christianity into Britain.

Appeal of Injured Innocence. Part I. 4. *Animadv. on Ch. Hist.*

Chronology

As for the many chronological differences, wherewith the building of this Temple is encumbered, we utterly decline them as alien from our subject. 'He that meddleth (saith Solomon) with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears' (Prov. xxvi. 17). Chronology (all know) is a surly, churlish cur, and hath bit many a man's fingers, who have causelessly meddled therewith. Blame me not therefore, if willing to keep mine own hands whole.

Pisgah Sight, B. iii. C. ii. S. iii. 5.

Painstaking in Church History

GIVE me leave to add, that a greater volume of general Church-History might be made with less time, pains, and cost; for in the making thereof, I had straw provided me

to

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to burn my brick; I mean, could find what I needed, in printed books. Whereas in this British Church-History, I must (as well as I could) provide my own straw; and my pains have been scattered all over the land, by riding, writing, going, sending, chiding, begging, praying, and sometimes paying too, to procure manuscript materials.

Appeal of Injured Innocence, p. i. *Ans. to Introduction.*

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'CHARITY begins, but doth not end, at home.' The same method was embraced in my Church-History. It began with our own domestic affairs, to confute that accusation, commonly charged on Englishmen, that they are very knowing in foreign parts, but ignorant in their own country. I intended (God willing) to have proceeded to foreign churches; but I am discouraged by the causeless cavilling at what I have written already.

My Church-History beginneth (for point of time) *indeterminately*, before the birth of Christ, (lapping in, or folding over, part of Paganism,) and presenteth the doleful condition of the Britons, whilst yet unconverted, and grievous idolators.

Determinately, my History begins *Anno Domini* 37; which is but four years after Christ's passion, and that is very early, I assure you: Christianity in this island being a timely riser, to be up so soon, and dressing itself, whilst as yet (and many years after) most countries were fast asleep in pagan impiety. *Idem.*

Clothes

CLOTHES are for necessity; warm clothes, for health; cleanly, for decency; lasting, for thrift; and rich, for magnificence.

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magnificence. Now there may be a fault in their—number, if too various—making, if too vain—matter, if too costly—and mind of the wearer, if he takes pride therein. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. vi.

Vanity of Conferences

THE parties, place, and time were agreed on; who, where, when they should dispute; but in fine nothing was effected. Yea, who ever knew conferences in so great oppositions to ripen kindly, and bring any fruit to perfection? for many come rather for faction than satisfaction, resolving to carry home the same opinions they brought with them: an upright moderator will scarce be found, who hangeth not to one side; the place will be subject to suspicion, and hinder liberty; boldness and readiness of speech, with most (though not most judicious) auditors, will bear away the bell from solidity of arguments; the passages in the disputing will be partially reported, and both sides will brag of the conquest; so that the rent will be made worse, and more spirits conjured up than allayed. *Holy War*, B. iii. C. 21.

A Timid Convert

KING EDWIN demurred to embrace Christianity. But he communicated with the sagest of his council, with whom he had daily debates, being loath rashly to rush on a matter of such moment. And, truly, that religion which is rather suddenly parched up than seasonably ripened, doth commonly ungive afterwards. Yea, he would sit long alone, making company to himself, and silently arguing the case in his own heart, being partly convinced

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convinced in his judgment of the goodness of the Christian religion; and yet he durst not entertain Truth, a lawful king, for fear to displease Custom, a cruel tyrant. *Ch. Hist.* B. ii. Cent. vii. 40.

Contentment

CONTENTMENT consisteth not in adding more fuel, but in taking away some fire.—Not in multiplying of wealth, but in subtracting men's desires. Worldly riches, like nuts, tear many clothes in getting them, spoil many teeth in cracking them, but fill no belly with eating them, obstructing only the stomach with toughness, and filling the guts with windiness. Yea, our souls may sooner surfeit, than be satisfied, with earthly things. He that at first thought ten thousand pounds too much for any one man, will afterwards think ten millions too little for himself. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xvii. 7.

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IT is not a word-braving or scorning of all wealth in discourse.—Generally those who boast most of contentment, have least of it. Their very boasting shows, that they want something, and basely beg it, namely, commendation. These in their language are like unto kites in their flying, which mount in the air so scornfully, as if they disdained to stoop for the whole earth, fetching about many stately circuits. But what is the spirit these conjurers, with so many circles, intend to raise? A poor chicken, or, perchance, a piece of carrion: and so the height of the others' proud boasting will humble itself for a little base gain. *Id.* B. iii. C. xvii. 2.

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. . .

A CONTENTED mind extendeth the smallest parish into a diocese, and improveth the least benefice into a bishopric. *Worthies: Hants. Writers.*

The Controversial Divine

HE is not curious in searching matters of no moment. —Captain Martin Forbisher fetched from the farthest northern countries a ship's lading of mineral stones, (as he thought,) which afterwards were cast out to mend the highways. Thus are they served, and miss their hopes, who, long seeking to extract hidden mysteries out of nice questions, leave them off as useless at last. Antoninus Pius, for his desire to search to the least differences, was called *cumini sector*, 'the carver of cumin seed.' One need not be so accurate; for as soon shall one scour the spots out of the moon, as all ignorance out of man. When Eunomius the heretic vaunted, that he knew God and his Divinity, St. Basil gravels him in twenty-one questions about the body of an ant or pismire: so dark is man's understanding! I wonder, therefore, at the boldness of some, who, as if they were lord-marshals of the angels, place them in ranks and files. Let us not believe them here, but rather go to heaven to confute them. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. iv. 11.

The Convocation of 1640

IN these distracted times a Parliament was called, Monday, April 13th, with the wishes of all, and hopes of most that were honest; yet not without the fears of some,

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some, who were wise, what would be the success thereof. With this Parliament began a Convocation; all the mediate transactions (for aught I can find out) are embezzled; and therein it was ordered, that none present should take any private notes in the House; whereby the particular passages thereof are left at great uncertainty. However, so far as I can remember, I will faithfully relate; being comforted with this consideration, that generally he is accounted an unpartial arbitrator who displeaseth both sides.

On the first day thereof, Tuesday, 14th, Dr. Turner, chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, made a Latin sermon in the choir of St. Paul's. His text: 'Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves,' Matt. x. 16. In the close of his sermon he complained, that all bishops held not the reins of church-discipline with an even hand, but that some of them were too easy and remiss in the ordering thereof; whereby, while they sought to gain to themselves the popular praise of meekness and mildness, they occasionally cast on other bishops, more severe than themselves, the unjust imputation of rigour and tyranny; and therefore he advised them all with equal strictness to urge an universal conformity. Sermon ended, we chose Dr. Stewart, dean of Chichester, Prolocutor.

Next day of sitting, Friday, 17th, we met at Westminster, in the chapel of king Henry VII, both the Houses of Convocation being joined together; when the archbishop of Canterbury entertained them with a Latin speech, well nigh three quarters of an hour gravely uttered, his eyes oft-times being but one remove from weeping.

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weeping. It consisted most of generals, bemoaning the distempers of the church; but [he] concluded it with a special passage, acquainting us how highly we were indebted to his majesty's favour so far intrusting the integrity and ability of that Convocation, as to empower them with his commission, the like whereof was not granted for many years before, to alter old—or make new—canons for the better government of the church.

Some wise men in the Convocation began now to be jealous of the event of new canons; yea, became fearful of their own selves, for having too great power, lest it should tempt them to be over-tampering in innovations. They thought it better, that this Convocation, with its predecessors, should be censured for laziness, and the solemn doing of just nothing, rather than to run the hazard by over-activity to do any thing unjust. For, as waters long dammed up oft-times flounce, and fly out too violently, when their sluices are pulled up, and they let loose on a sudden; so the judicious feared, lest the Convocation, whose power of meddling with church-matters had been bridled up for many years before, should now, enabled with such power, over-act their parts, especially in such dangerous and discontented times. Yea, they suspected, lest those who formerly had out-run the canons with their additional conformity (ceremonizing more then was enjoined) now would make the canons come up to them, making it necessary for others what voluntarily they had pre-practised themselves.

Matters began to be in agitation, when on a sudden, (May 5th,) the Parliament (wherein many things were started, nothing hunted down, or brought to perfection)

was

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was dissolved. Whilst the immediate cause hereof is commonly cast on the king and court, demanding so many subsidies at once, England being as yet unacquainted with such prodigious payments; the more conscientious look higher and remoter, on the crying sins of our kingdom. And from this very time did God begin to gather the twigs of that rod (a civil war) wherewith soon after he intended to whip a wanton nation.

Expect not here of me an exemplification of such canons as were concluded of in this Convocation; partly, because being printed they are public to every eye; but chiefly, because they were never put in practice, or generally received. The men in Persia did never look on their little ones till they were seven years old, bred till that time with their mothers and nurses; nor did they account them in their genealogies amongst their children, but amongst the more long-lived abortives, if dying before seven years of age. I conceive such canons come not under our cognizance, which last not (at least) an apprenticeship of years in use and practice: and therefore we decline the setting down the Acts of this Synod.

Ch. Hist. B. xi. S. 8. 11.

Courtesy

When one offers us a courtesy, especially being our superior, it is fitting we should requite him. It is a noble conquest for to be overcome with wrongs; but it is a sign of a degenerous nature to be outvied with courtesies; and therefore, if one begin a kindness to us, let us (if it lie in our power) pledge him in the same nature.

Ruth, ii. 4.

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THERE is great difference between painting a face and not washing it. *Ch. Hist.* B. vii. S. i. 32.

The Battle of Cressy

COMING to the town of Cressy, they found the English fortified in a woody place, and attending in good array to give battle. Whereat the French, falling from their hopes, were extremely vexed, (a fool's Paradise is a wise man's hell!) finding their enemies' faces to stand where they looked for their backs. . . . . War is a game wherein very often that side loseth which layeth the odds.

Holy State, B. iv. C. 20.

Crossing the Line

THEN cutting the Line, they saw the face of that heaven which earth hideth from us, but therein only three stars of the first greatness, the rest few and small compared to our hemisphere; as if God, on purpose, had set up the best and biggest candles in that room wherein his civilest guests are entertained. *Id.* B. ii. C. 22.

The Crusaders

THE French, Dutch, Italian, and English were the four elemental nations whereof this army was compounded: of these the French were predominant; they were the cape merchants in this adventure. That nimble nation first apprehended the project, and eagerly prosecuted it. As their language wanteth one proper word to express *stand*, so their natures mislike a settled, fixed posture, and

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and delight in motion and agitation of business; yea, France (as being then best at leisure) contributed more soldiers to this war than all Christendom besides.

GERMANY is slandered to have sent none to this war at this first voyage; and that other pilgrims, passing through that country, were mocked by the Dutch, and called fools for their pains. But though Germany was backward at the first, yet afterwards it proved the main Atlas of the war; that nation, like a heavy bell, was long a raising, but being got up made a loud sound.

ITALY sent few out of her heart and middle provinces nigh Rome. The pope was loath to adventure his darlings into danger; those white boys were to stay at home with his holiness their tender father: wherefore he dispensed with them for going, as knowing how to use their help nearer, and to greater profit. Peter's patrimony must as well be looked to, as Christ's sepulchre. But though the pope would spend none of his own fuel, he burnt the best stakes of the emperor's hedge, and furthered the imperial party to consume itself in this tedious war.

ENGLAND (the pope's packhorse in that age), which seldom rested in the stable when there was any work to be done, sent many brave men under Robert Duke of Normandy, . . . Neither surely did the Irishmen's feet stick in their bogs, though we find no particular mention of their achievements. *Holy War*, B. i. C. xiii.

The Crusade

THUS after a hundred ninety and four years ended the Holy War; for continuance the longest, for money spent the

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the costliest, for bloodshed the cruelest, for pretences the most pious, for the true intent the most politic the world ever saw. *Holy War*, B. iv. C. xxxiii.

Curiosity

CURIOSITY is a kernel of the forbidden fruit, which still sticketh in the throat of a natural man, sometimes to the danger of his choking. *Worthies: Yorks. Writers.*

The Dead Sea

THE Salt Sea was sullen and churlish, differing from all other in the conditions thereof. David, speaking of other seas, saith, 'There go the ships, and there is that leviathan which Thou hast made to play therein' (Psalm civ. 26), so instancing in the double use of the sea for ships to sail and fishes to swim in. But this is serviceable for neither of these intents, no vessels sailing thereon, the clammy water being a real remora to obstruct their passage; and the most sportful fishes dare not jest with the edged tools of this Dead Sea; which if unwillingly hurried thereinto by the force of the stream of Jordan they presently expire. Yea, it would kill that apocrypha-dragon which Daniel is said to have choked with lumps of pitch, fat, and hair, if he should be so adventurous to drink of the waters thereof, so stifling and suffocating is the nature of it. In a word, this sea hath but one good quality, namely, that it entertains intercourse with no other seas, which may be imputed to the providence of nature debarring it from communion with the ocean, lest otherwise it should infect other waters with its malignity. Nor doth any healthful thing grow thereon,

save

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save only this wholesome counsel, which may be collected from this pestiferous lake, for men to beware how they provoke divine justice by their lustful and unnatural enormities. *Pisgah Sight*, B. ii. C. xiii. 8.

Thoughts on Death

To smell to a turf of fresh earth is wholesome for the body; no less are thoughts of mortality cordial to the soul. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. xiii. 13.

Sudden Death

LORD be pleased to shake my clay cottage before Thou throwest it down. May it totter a while before it doth tumble. Let me be summoned before I am surprised. Deliver me from sudden death. Not from sudden death in respect of itself, for I care not how short my passage be, so it be safe. Never any weary traveller complained that he came too soon to his journey's end. But let it not be sudden in respect of me. Make me always ready to receive death. Thus no guest comes unawares to him who keeps a constant table. *Good Thoughts. Personal Meditations*, xxv.

A Dedication

To the Right Worshipful SIR RICHARD SHUGBOROUGH, *of Shugborough in Warwickshire*

MASTER HAWARD returned this answer to queen Mary, (demanding the causes of his coming to court), that it was partly to see her Highness, and partly that her Highness should see him; an answer, which, though more witty than court-like, yea, more blunt than witty, she took in good part.

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You will not be offended at this my Dedication, partly that I may know you, partly that I may be known unto you. Besides, being informed that you love to have your hospitable table handsomely attended with ancient servitors, I presumed that this Section, containing much of memorable antiquity, would not be unwelcome unto you. *Ch. Hist.* B. v. S. iii.

Dedication to Church History, Bk. xi

To the honourable EDWARD MONTAGUE, ESQUIRE, *son and heir to the Right Honourable* EDWARD LORD MONTAGUE *of Boughton*

IT is a strange casualty which an historian[1] reporteth of five earls of Pembroke successively, (of the family of Hastings,) that the father of them never saw his son,—as born either in his absence or after his death.

I know not whether more remarkable, the fatality of that—or the felicity of your—family; where, in a lineal descent, five have followed one another, the father not only surviving to see his son of age, but also (yourself excepted, who in due time may be) happy in their marriage, hopeful in their issue.

These five have all been of the same Christian name. Yet is there no fear of confusion, to the prejudice of your pedigree, which heralds commonly in the like cases complain of; seeing each of them being, as eminent in their kind, so different in their eminency, are sufficiently distinguished by their own character to posterity.

[1] CAMDEN'S *Britannia* in Pembrokeshire.

Of

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Of these, the first a judge; for his gravity and learning famous in his generation.

The second, a worthy patriot, and bountiful housekeeper; blessed in a numerous issue; his four younger sons affording a bishop to the church, a judge and peer to the state, a commander to the camp, and an officer to the court.

The third was the first baron of the house; of whose worth I will say nothing, because I can never say enough.

The fourth, your honourable father; who, because he doth still (and may he long) survive, I cannot do the right which I would to his merit, without doing wrong (which I dare not) to his modesty.

You are the fifth in a direct line; and let me acquaint you with what the world expecteth (not to say requireth) of you—to dignify yourself with some select and peculiar desert; so to be differenced from your ancestors, that your memory may not be mistaken in the homonymy of your Christian names; which to me seemeth as improbable, as that a burning beacon (at a reasonable distance) should not be beheld; such the brightness of your parts, and advantage of your education.

You was bred in that school which hath no superior in England; and successively in those two universities, which have no equal in Europe. Such the stock of your native perfection, before grafted with the foreign accomplishments of your travels: so that men confidently promise themselves to read the best, last, and largest edition of Mercator's Atlas in your experience and discourse.

That good God who went with you out of your native

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country, and since watched over you in foreign parts, return with you in safety in due time, to his glory, and your own good; which is the daily desire of

Your Honour's most devoted servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

Defender of the Faith

THERE is a tradition, that king Henry's fool, (though more truly to be termed by another name,) coming into the court, and finding the king transported with an unusual joy, boldly asked of him the cause thereof; to whom the king answered, it was because that the pope had honoured him with a style more eminent than any of his ancestors. 'O good Harry,' quoth the fool, 'let thou and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself.' *Ch. Hist.* B. v. S. i. 23.

Deformity

MOCK not at those who are misshapen by nature.—There is the same reason of the poor and of the deformed; he that despiseth them despiseth God that made them. A poor man is a picture of God's own making, but set in a plain frame, not gilded; a deforme man is also his workmanship, but not drawn with even lines and lively colours: the former not for want of wealth—as the latter not for want of skill—but both for the pleasure—of the Maker. As for Aristotle, who would have parents expose their deformed children to the wide world without caring for them, his opinion herein, not only deformed but most monstrous, deserves rather to be exposed to the scorn and contempt of all men. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xiv. 3.

Delays

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Delays Dangerous

THE English ambassador some years since prevailed so far with the Turkish emperor, as to persuade him to hear some of our English music, from which (as from other liberal sciences) both he and his nation were naturally averse. But it happened that the musicians were so long in tuning their instruments, that the great Turk, distasting their tediousness, went away in discontent before their music began. I am afraid that the differences and dissensions betwixt Christian churches (being so long in reconciling their discords) will breed in pagans such a disrelish of our religion, as they will not be invited to attend thereunto.

Good Thoughts in Bad Times, Hist. App. 1.

Democracy

So irresistible is the tyranny of a tumult; and, therefore, it may be all good men's prayers, that the people may either never understand their own power, or always use it aright. *Holy State*, B. v. C. xviii. 7.

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MEN who would not have magistrates compel them, —query, whether, if they had power, they would not compel magistrates? *Id.* B. v. C. xi.

Detraction

WHAT a monster might be made out of the best beauties in the world, if a limner should leave what is lovely, and only collect into one picture what he findeth amiss in them! I know there be white teeth in the blackest Black-Moor, and a black bill in the whitest swan.

Worst

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Worst men have something to be commended, best men something in them to be condemned. Only to insist on men's faults to render them odious, is no ingenuous employment. God, we know, so useth his fan, that he keepeth the corn, but driveth away the chaff. But who is he that winnoweth so, as to throw away the good grain, and retain the chaff only? *Ch. Hist.* B. x. S. ii. 2.

Cornish Diamonds

THESE of themselves sound high, till the addition of Cornish subtracteth from their valuation. In blackness and hardness they are far short of the Indian: yet, set with a good foil (advantaged hypocrisy passeth often for sincerity) may at the first sight deceive no unskilful lapidary. As their lustre is less than Orient diamonds, so herein they exceed them, that nature hath made both their face and their dressing, by whom they are pointed and polished. But enough hereof, the rather because some, from the Latin names of jewels, *Jocalia*, 'things to be jested and played with,' and *Baubellæ*, 'things which are trifles and baubles,' spitefully collect that stones, accounted precious, are more beholding to the consent of fancy, than their own intrinsic worth, for their high valuation. *Worthies: Cornwall. Natural Commodities.*

A Diary

AN exact Diary is a window into his heart who maketh it; and, therefore, pity it is that any should look therein, but either the friends of the party, or such ingenuous foes as will not (especially in things doubtful) make conjectural comments to his disgrace.

Ch. Hist. B. xi. S. v. 79.

Discretion

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Discretion

DISCRETION puts a difference betwixt things absolutely necessary to salvation to be done and believed, and those which are of a second sort and lower form, wherein more liberty and latitude is allowed. In maintaining whereof, the stiffness of the judgment is abated, and suppled with charity towards his neighbour. The lukewarm man eyes only his own ends and particular profit; the moderate man aims at the good of others, and unity of the church. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xx. 3.

Discussion

As no cloth can be woven except the woof and the warp be cast cross one to another, so discourse will not be maintained without some opposition for the time. *Id.* B. v. C. 6.

Disparity of Station

HE that eats cherries with noblemen shall have his eyes spirted out with the stones.—This outlandish proverb hath in it an English truth, that they who constantly converse with men far above their estates, shall reap shame and loss thereby. If thou payest nothing, they will count thee a sucker, no branch; a wen, no member of their company. If in payments thou keepest pace with them, their long strides will soon tire thy short legs. The beavers in New-England, when some ten of them together draw a stick to the building of their lodging, set the weakest beavers to the lighter end of the log, and the strongest take the heaviest part thereof: whereas men often lay the greatest burden on the weakest back; and great

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great persons, to teach meaner men to learn their distance, take pleasure to make them pay for their company. I except such men, who, having some excellent quality, are *gratis* very welcome to their betters; such an one, though he pays not a penny of the shot, spends enough in lending them his time and discourse. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. v. 6.

Discoverers

THE lord Bacon would have rewards given to those men who, in the quest of natural experiments, make probable mistakes, both because they are industrious therein, and because their aberrations may prove instructions to others after them; and to speak plainly, an ingenious miss is of more credit than a bungling casual hit. *Good Thoughts. Mixt Contemp. on Better Times*, 25.

Disputes Ended

WHILST mutual animosities were heightened betwixt the opposers and assertors of the Liturgy, Providence put a period for a time to that controversy in England. Such who formerly would not—soon after durst not—use the Common Prayer; mass and popery being set up by queen Mary in the room thereof. Thus when children fall out and fight about the candle, the parents, coming in and taking it away, leave them to decide the differences in the dark. *Ch. Hist.* B. vii. *ad fin.*

Eels of Cambridgeshire

WHICH, though they be found in all shires in England, yet are most properly treated of here, as most, first, and best

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best; the courts of the kings of England being thence therewith anciently supplied. I will not engage in the controversy whether they be bred by generation as other fish; or equivocally, out of putrefaction; or both ways, which is most probable; seeing some have ventured to know the distinguishing marks betwixt the one and other. I know the silver eels are generally preferred, and I could wish they loved men but as well as men love them, that I myself might be comprised within the compass of that desire. They are observed to be never out of season (whilst other fishes have their set times); and the biggest eels are ever esteemed the best.

Worthies: Cambs. Natural Commodities.

Economy

LET us spare where we may, that so we may spend where we should.

Eccentricity

THOUGH such spheres and orbs which agree in one centre may proportionably move one within another; yet such as are eccentrical can never observe equal distance in their motion, but will sag aside to grind and grate one the other.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. 5. 2.

Ely Minster [A. D. 1660]

THIS presenteth itself afar off to the eye of the traveller, and on all sides, at great distance, not only maketh a promise, but giveth earnest of the beauty thereof. The lanthorn therein, built by Bishop Hotham, (wherein the labour of twenty years, and five thousand ninety-four pounds eighteen shillings ten pence half-penny farthing

was

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was expended), is a masterpiece of architecture. When the bells ring, the wood-work thereof shaketh and gapeth (no defect, but perfection of structure), and exactly chocketh into the joints again; so that it may pass for the lively emblem of the sincere Christian, who, though he hath *motum trepidationis*, of fear and trembling, stands firmly fixed on the basis of a true faith. Rare also is the art in the chapel of Saint Mary's, the pattern or parent of that in King's College in Cambridge, though here (as often elsewhere) it hath happened, the child hath outgrown the father. Nor must the chapel of Bishop West be forgotten, seeing the master-masons of king James, on serious inspection, found finer stone-work herein, than in king Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster.

It grieved me lately to see so many new lights in this church (supernumerary windows more than were in the first fabric), and the whole structure in a falling condition, except some good men's charity seasonably support it. Yet was I glad to hear a great antiquary employed to transcribe and preserve the monuments in that church, as all others in the late-drowned land. And it is hard to say, which was the better office, whether of those who newly have dried them from the inundation of water, or of those who shall drain them from the deluge of oblivion by perpetuating their antiquities to posterity.

Worthies: Camb. Natural Commodities.

New England Emigrants

Now if any do demand of me my opinion concerning our brethren which of late left this kingdom to advance a plantation

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a plantation in New England; surely I think, as St. Paul said concerning virgins, he had 'received no commandment from the Lord'; so I cannot find any just warrant to encourage men to undertake this removal; but think rather the counsel best that king Joash prescribed to Amaziah, 'Tarry at home.' Yet as for those that are already gone, far be it from us to conceive them to be such to whom we may not say, 'God speed,' as it is in 2 John verse 10: but let us pity them, and pray for them; for sure they have no need of our mocks, which I am afraid have too much of their own miseries. I conclude therefore of the two Englands, what our Saviour saith of the two wines, Luke v. 39: 'No man having tasted of the old presently desireth the new: for he saith, The old is better.' *Ruth. Ch.* i. 1.

Envy

THAT dark shadow, ever waiting on a shining merit.

Holy State, B. ii. C. 3.

Epitaphs

THE shortest, plainest, and truest epitaphs are best. —I say, 'the shortest'; for when a passenger sees a chronicle written on a tomb, he takes it on trust, some great man lies there buried, without taking pains to examine who he is. Mr. Camden in his 'Remains' presents us with examples of great men that had little epitaphs. And when once I asked a witty gentleman, an honoured friend of mine, what epitaph was fittest to be written on Mr. Camden's tomb; 'Let it be,' said he, 'CAMDEN'S REMAINS.' *Id.* B. iii. C. xiv. 5.

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Evil Speaking

For as the basest rascal will presume to miscall the best lord, when far enough out of his hearing; so slanderous tongues think they may run riot in railing on any, when once got out of the distance of time, and reach of confutation. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. xiv.

The Exchange

Yet, because much of mutability is imported in the word Change, it may be a fit remembrancer to merchants meeting here, not to build their hopes of perpetuity on what is so subject to vicissitude and alteration. Well may this place be termed the Change, where poor men so soon become rich by good success, and rich men poor by losses and casualties unexpected!

Worthies: London. Buildings.

Experience

Surely they leap best in their providence forward, who fetch their rise farthest backward in their experience.

Holy State, B. iv. C. xvii. 3.

The Falsehood of Extremes

It happeneth in all heights and heats of oppositions, as in horse-races; wherein the rider, if he doth not go beyond the post, cannot come to the post so as to win the prize: for, being upon the speed, he must go beyond it that he come to it, though afterwards he may rein and turn his horse back again to the very place of the mark. Thus men being, in the heat of contest, upon the very career

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career of their souls, because of their passions, cannot stop short at the very mark they aim at, but some extravagancies must be indulged to human infirmity, which in their reduced thoughts they will correct and amend; as some Protestants, no doubt, now lashing out so far in their language, retrenched them afterwards to a just proportion of truth. *Ch. Hist.* B. v. S. iv. 29.

Faith and Love

AND here such as brought the man sick of the palsy not finding a door on the floor made one on the roof (love will creep, but faith will climb where it cannot go) let him down with cords, his bed bringing him in, which presently he carried out, being perfectly cured (Mark ii. 1). *Pisgah Sight*, B. ii. C. iv. 15.

Of Fame

FAME is the echo of actions, resounding them to the world, save that the echo repeats only the last part, but fame relates all, and often more than all.

Holy State, B. iii. C. xxiii. 8.

* * *

A FOND fame is best confuted by neglecting it.—By 'fond' understand such a report as is rather ridiculous, than dangerous, if believed. It is not worth the making a schism betwixt newsmongers to set up an anti-fame against it. Yea, seriously and studiously to endeavour to confute it, will grace the rumour too much, and give suspicion that indeed there is some reality in it. What madness were it to plant a piece of ordnance to beat down

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down an aspen leaf, which, having always the palsy, will at last fall down of itself! And fame hath much of the scold in her; the best way to silence her is, to be silent, and then at last she will be out of breath with blowing her own trumpet. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xxiii. 8.

Familists

THESE Familists (besides many monstrosities they maintained about their communion with God) attenuated all Scriptures into allegories; and, under pretence to turn them into spirit, made them airy, empty, nothing. They counterfeited revelations; and those, not explicatory or applicatory of Scripture, (such may and must be allowed to God's servants in all ages,) but additional thereunto, and of equal necessity and infallibility to be believed therewith. In a word, as in the small-pox, (pardon my plain and homely, but true and proper, comparison,) when at first they kindly come forth, every one of them may severally and distinctly be discerned; but when once they run and matter, they break one into another, and can no longer be dividedly discovered; so though at first there was a real difference betwixt Familists, Enthusiasts, Antinomians, (not to add high-flown Anabaptists,) in their opinions, yet, (process of time plucking up the pales betwixt them,) afterwards they did so interfere amongst themselves, that it is almost impossible to bank and bound their several absurdities. *Ch. Hist.* B. ix. S. iii. 38.

Fancy

IT is an inward sense of the soul, for a while retaining and examining things brought in thither by the common sense.

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sense. It is the most boundless and restless faculty of the soul: for whilst the understanding and the will are kept as it were in *liberâ custodiâ* to their objects of *verum et bonum*, the fancy is free from all engagements. It digs without spade, sails without ship, flies without wings, builds without charges, fights without bloodshed, in a moment striding from the centre to the circumference of the world, by a kind of omnipotency creating and annihilating things in an instant; and things divorced in nature are married in fancy, as in a lawful place. It is also most restless: whilst the senses are bound, and reason in a manner asleep, fancy, like a sentinel, walks the round, ever working, never wearied. The chief diseases of the fancy are, either that they are too wild and high-soaring, or else too low and grovelling, or else too desultory and over-voluble.

Of the first:—

If thy fancy be but a little too rank, age itself will correct it.—To lift too high is no fault in a young horse, because with travelling he will mend it, for his own ease. Thus, lofty fancies in young men will come down of themselves, and, in process of time, the overplus will shrink to be but even measure.

Take the advice of a faithful friend, and submit thy inventions to his censure.—When thou pennest an oration, let him have the power of *Index Expurgatorius*, to expunge what he pleaseth; and do not thou, like a fond mother, cry if the child of thy brain be corrected for playing the wanton. Mark the arguments and reasons of his alterations,—why that phrase least proper, this passage more cautious and advised; and, after a while, thou shalt

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shalt perform the place in thine own person, and not go out of thyself for a censurer.

If thy fancy be too low and humble,—

Let thy judgment be king, but not tyrant, over it, to condemn harmless, yea, commendable, conceits.—Some, for fear their orations should giggle, will not let them smile. Give it also liberty to rove, for it will not be extravagant. There is no danger that weak folks, if they walk abroad, will straggle far, as wanting strength.

Acquaint thyself with reading poets, for there fancy is in her throne.—And in time the sparks of the author's wit will catch hold on the reader, and inflame him with love, liking, and desire of imitation. I confess, there is more required to teach one to write than to see a copy. However, there is a secret force of fascination in reading poems to raise and provoke fancy.

If thy fancy be over-voluble, then—

Whip this vagrant home to the first object whereon it should be settled.—Indeed, nimbleness is the perfection of this faculty; but levity the bane of it. Great is the difference betwixt a swift horse, and a skittish that will stand on no ground. Such is the ubiquitary fancy, which will keep long residence on no one subject, but is so courteous to strangers, that it ever welcomes that conceit most which comes last; and new species supplant the old ones, before seriously considered. If this be the fault of thy fancy, I say, whip it home to the first object whereon it should be settled. This do as often as occasion requires, and by degrees the fugitive servant will learn to abide by his work without running away.

Holy State, B. iii. C. 11.

Faults.

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Faults

HERE are four faults of the archbishop mustered up by me; and is it not a thin muster indeed? When a gentleman was told, that he would be much ashamed if all his faults were written in his forehead; he (in my mind) modestly and wittily replied, that he should be right glad that his face could hold them all! Happy is that man whose faults may be reduced to the number of four!

App. Inj. Inn. Pt. iii. B. xi. 319.

Fertile in Resources

HE is no fox whose den hath but one hole.

Holy State, B. iv. C. iii.

Rarity of Fires at Cambridge

SIXTEEN years did students continue in University Hall on their own charges; but a casual fire reduced their House to ashes. Here, by the way, whosoever shall consider in both Universities the ill contrivance of many chimneys, hollowness of hearths, shallowness of tunnels, carelessness of coals and candles, catchingness of papers, narrowness of studies, late reading and long watching of scholars, cannot but conclude, that an especial Providence preserveth those places. How small a matter hath sometimes made a partition betwixt the fire and the fuel! Thus an hair's breadth, fixed by a Divine finger, shall prove as effectual a separation from danger as a mile's distance. And although both Universities have had sad accidents in this kind, yet neither in

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number nor nature (since the Reformation) so destructive as in other places: so that, blessed be God! they have been rather scare-fires than hurt-fires unto them.

Hist. Camb. S. ii. 40.

First and Last

THUS, as the last dog most commonly catcheth the hare which other dogs have turned and tired before; so such who succeed in dangerous and difficult enterprises, generally reap the benefit of the adventures of those who went before them. *Worthies: Derbysh. Seamen.*

Fitness of Things

A MAN ought to be like a cunning actor, who, if he be enjoined to represent the person of some prince or nobleman, does it with a grace and comeliness; if, by and by, he be commanded to lay that aside, and play the beggar, he does that as willingly and as well. But, as it happened in a tragedy, (to spare naming the person and place), that one, being to act Theseus (in *Hercules Furens*) coming out of hell, could not for a long time be persuaded to wear old sooty clothes proper for his part, but would needs come out of hell in a white satin doublet; so we are generally loath, and it goes against flesh and blood, to live in a low and poor estate, but would fain act in richer and handsomer clothes, till grace, with much ado, subdues our rebellious stomachs to God's will. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xvii. 9.

Flowers

THE Dutch brought hither with them, not only their profitable crafts, but pleasureable curiosities. They were the

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the first who advanced the use and reputation of flowers in this city. A flower is the best-complexioned grass (as a pearl is the best-coloured clay); and daily it weareth God's livery, for 'He clotheth the grass in the field.' Solomon himself is outbraved therewith, as whose gallantry only was adopted, and on theirs innate, and in them. In the morning (when it groweth up) it is a lecture of Divine Providence. In the evening (when it is cut down withered) it is a lecture of human mortality.

Single flowers are observed much sweeter than the double ones (poor may be more fragrant in God's nostrils than the rich); and let florists assign the cause thereof, whether because the sun doth not so much dry the intricacies of such flowers which are duplicated. . .

In my judgment those flowers carry it clearly, which acquit themselves to a double sense, sight and smell; for though in some things it may be true, *optimè quæ minimè olent*, yet in flowers (besides a negation of an ill) the position of a good scent is justly required.

Worthies: Norwich. Natural Commodities.

Fog and Tempest

Divine providence is remarkable in ordering, that a fog and a tempest never did, nor can, meet together in nature. For as soon as a fog is fixed the tempest is allayed; and as soon as a tempest doth arise the fog is dispersed. This is a great mercy; for otherwise such small vessels as boats and barges, which want the conduct of the card and compass, would irrecoverably be lost.

How sad, then, is the condition of many sectaries in

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our age; which in the same instant have a fog of ignorance in their judgments, and a tempest of violence in their affections, being too blind to go right, and yet too active to stand still.

Good Thoughts. Mixt Contempl. on Better Times, P. ii. 5.

A Fool

One may get wisdom by looking on a fool.—In beholding him, think how much thou art beholden to Him that suffered thee not to be like him. Only God's pleasure put a difference betwixt you. And consider, that a fool and a wise man are alike both in the starting-place—their birth, and at the post—their death; only they differ in the race of their lives.

Holy State, B. iii. C. xii. 4.

Over Estimate of Foreigners

Indeed, it is a humour of our English, strangely to admire strangers, believing invisible perfections in them, above those of our land: a quality commendable in our countrymen, whilst inclining them to hospitality, but sometimes betraying their credulity to be thereby dangerously deluded. *Ch. Hist.* B. x. S. vi. 2.

Fox's Acts and Monuments

And because I have mentioned that book, wherein this lady's virtues are so highly commended, I am not ignorant that, of late, great disgrace hath been thrown on that author and his worthy work, as being guilty of much falsehood; chiefly, because sometimes he makes Popish doctors, well known to be rich in learning, to

reason

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reason very poorly; and the best fencers of their schools, worsted and put out of their play by some country poor Protestants. But let the cavillers hereat know, that it is a great matter to have the odds of the weapon (God's word) on their side;—not to say any thing of supernatural assistance given them. Sure, for the main, his book is a worthy work, (wherein the reader may rather leave than lack,) and seems to me, like Ætna, always burning, whilst the smoke hath almost put out the eyes of the adverse party; and these Fox's 'fire-brands' have brought much annoyance to the Romish 'Philistines.' But it were a miracle, if, in so voluminous a work, there were nothing to be justly reproved; so great a pomegranate, not having any rotten kernel, must only grow in Paradise. And though, perchance, he held the beam at the best advantage for the Protestant party to weigh down, yet, generally, he is a true writer, and never wilfully deceiveth, though he may sometimes be unwillingly deceived. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. xiv.

French and English

I KNOW not whether his observation, with the reason thereof, be worth the inserting, who first took notice, that our cattle for food are English when feeding in the field, but French when fed on in a family.

English.	1. Sheep.	2. Ox.	3. Calf.	4. Hog.	5. Pig.
French.	1. Mutton.	2. Beef.	3. Veal.	4. Bacon.	5. Pork.

Whereof he assigned this reason, that, after the Norman Conquest, the French so tyrannized over the English tenants, that they forced them to keep and feed their cattle;

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cattle; but the Monsieurs ate all their good meat after it was slaughtered. *Worthies: Bucks. Natural Commodities.*

False Friends

FALSE friends will forsake us in time of adversity. He that believeth that all those who smile on him and promise fair in time of prosperity will perform it in time of his want, may as well believe that all the leaves that be on trees at Midsummer will hang there as fresh and as fair on New Year's Day.

Coll. Serm. Good from Bad Friends, 2 Sam. xv. 31.

Fuller's Name

I HAD rather my name should make *many* causelessly merry, than *any* justly sad; and seeing it lieth equally open and obvious to praise and dispraise, I shall as little be elated when flattered, 'FULLER of wit and learning,' as dejected when flouted, 'FULLER of folly and ignorance.' *App. Inj. Inn.* Pt. iii. B. xi. 314.

A Funeral Sermon

WHEN one was to preach the funeral sermon of a most vicious and generally-hated person, all wondered what he would say in his praise; the preacher's friends fearing—his foes hoping—that, for his fee, he would force his conscience to flattery. 'For one thing,' said the minister, 'this man is to be spoken well of by all; and for another thing he is to be spoken ill of by none. The first is, Because God made him; the second, Because he is dead.' *Id.* Pt. iii. B. xi. 324.

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The Good General

He hath gained skill in his place by long experience. —Not beginning to lead others, before himself ever knew to follow; having never before (except in cock-matches) beheld any battles. . . . He makes his flying enemy a bridge of gold, and disarms them of their best weapon;—which is, necessity to fight, whether they will or no. Men forced to a battle against their intention, often conquer beyond their expectation. Stop a flying coward, and he will turn his legs into arms, and lay about him manfully; whereas open him a passage to escape, and he will quickly shut up his courage.

Holy State, B. iv. C. xvii.

. . .

Men have a touchstone whereby to try gold, but gold is the touchstone whereby to try men. *Id.* B. iv. C. vii. 5.

A Passing Generation

Thus, when a generation of contemporary persons begins to crack, it quickly falls; and the leases of their clay cottage, commencing, it seems, much from the same date, at the same term did expire. *Ch. Hist.* B. ix. S. iii. 27.

Poor Gentlemen

Gold, though the most solid and heavy of metals, yet may be beaten out so thin as to be the lightest and slightest of all things. Thus nobility, though in itself most honourable, may be so attenuated through the smallness

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smallness of means, as thereby to grow neglected: which makes our nobleman to practise Solomon's precept: 'Be diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thine herds; for the crown doth not endure to every generation.' (Prov. xxvii. 23.) If not *the crown*, much less *the coronet*; and good husbandry may as well stand with great honour, as breadth may consist with height. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. xii. 3.

The Ancient Gentry

And here under favour I conceive, that if a strict inquiry should be made after the ancient gentry of England, most of them would be found amongst such middle-sized persons as are above two hundred, and beneath a thousand pounds of annual revenue. It was the motto of wise Sir Nicholas Bacon, *mediocria firma*, 'moderate things are most lasting.' Men of great estates, in national broils, have smarted deeply for their visible engagements, to the ruin of their families, whereof we have had too many sad experiments, whilst such persons who are moderately mounted above the level of common people into a competency, above want and beneath envy, have, by God's blessing on their frugality, continued longest in their conditions, entertaining all alterations in the state with the less destructive change unto themselves. *Worthies:* C. xv. *Sheriffs.*

* * *

It happened in the reign of king James, when Henry Earl of Huntingdon was lieutenant of Leicestershire, that a labourer's son in that county was pressed into the

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the wars, as I take it to go over with count Mansfield. The old man at Leicester requested his son might be discharged, as being the only staff of his age, who by his industry maintained him and his mother. The earl demanded his name, which the man for a long time was loath to tell, as suspecting it a fault for so poor a man to confess a truth. At last he told his name was Hastings. 'Cousin Hastings,' said the earl, 'we cannot all be top branches of the tree, though we all spring from the same root: your son my kinsman shall not be pressed.' So good was the meeting of modesty in a poor, with courtesy in an honourable person, and gentry I believe in both. And I have reason to believe, that some who justly own the surnames and blood of Bohuns, Mortimers, and Plantagenets, though ignorant of their own extractions, are hid in the heap of common people; where they find that under a thatched cottage, which some of their ancestors could not enjoy in a leaded castle, contentment with quiet and security.

Idem.

Giants

THERE need no other evidence be produced to prove the fruitfulness of their country than the vastness of their bodies, whereof the rankness of their ground must be allowed a partial cause. Our English proverb saith, 'Show me not the meat, but show me the man.' The well battling of the giants bred in Philistia (chiefly in Gath their seminary), being heteroclites, redundants from the rules of nature, sufficiently attests the fertility of their soil. Some of these giants had their hands branching,

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branching out into six fingers, though who had one fewer had enough to kill them. Let naturalists curiously inquire whether or no this stock of giants be wholly spent in our age, and if so, what the true causes thereof, whether intemperance of diet, or over-early marriage, seeing every one that is raw to work count themselves ripe to wed. Let them consult whether nature hath not some other way recompensed in our age that want of strength by giving them quicker wits, whereas in voluminous men commonly there is much empty margin.

Pisgah Sight, B. ii. C. x. 25.

Goats

An he-goat is recounted by wise Agur amongst 'the four creatures which are comely in going.' Yea, if that ornamental excrement which groweth beneath the chin be the standard of wisdom, they carry it from Aristotle himself.

Plenty of these are bred in Wales, especially in Montgomeryshire, which mindeth me of a pleasant passage, during the restraint of the lady Elizabeth. When she was so strictly watched by Sir Henry Benefield that none were admitted access unto her, a goat was espied by a merry fellow (one of the warders) walking along with her. Whereupon, taking the goat on his shoulders, he in all haste hurried him to Sir Henry. 'I pray, Sir,' said he, 'examine this fellow, whom I found walking with her grace; but what talk they had I know not, not understanding his language. He seems to me a stranger, and I believe a Welshman by his freize coat.'

Worthies: Wales. Natural Commodities.

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Good from Evil

It is usual with God's wisdom and goodness to suffer vice to sound the first alarm to that fight wherein virtue is to have the victory. *Ch. Hist.* B. v. S. iii. 31.

Some Great Men of low Extraction

If inquiry be made into all men's descents, it would be found true what the poet doth observe:

> 'The first of all thine ancestors of yore
> Was but a shepherd, or—I say no more.'

Besides, it plainly proveth the properness of their parts, and tallness of their industry, who thereby, and by God's blessing thereon, reached so high preferment, though disadvantaged by standing on so low ground of their extraction. *Worthies:* C. xxiv.

Groans

How comes it to pass that groans, made in men by God's spirit, cannot be uttered? I find two reasons thereof. First, because those groans are so low and little, so faint, frail, and feeble, so next to nothing, these still-born babes only breathe without crying.

Secondly, because so much diversity, yea, contrariety of passion, is crowded within the compass of a groan, they are stayed from being expressive, and the groans become unutterable.

How happy is their condition who have God for their interpreter? who not only understands what they do, but what they would say. Daniel could tell the meaning of

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of the dream which Nebuchadnezzar had forgotten. God knows the meaning of those groans which never as yet knew their own meaning, and understands the sense of those sighs which never understood themselves.

Good Thoughts in Worse Times, Prayers 4.

Gunpowder Plot

THEY fall a-working in the vault. Dark the place, in the depth of the earth; dark the time, in the dead of the night; dark the design, all the actors therein concealed by oath from others, and thereby combined amongst themselves. O! how easy is any work, when high merit is conceived the wages thereof! In piercing through the wall nine feet thick, they erroneously conceived that they thereby hewed forth their own way to heaven. But they digged more with their silver in an hour, than with their iron in many days; namely, when discovering a cellar hard by, they hired the same, and these pioneers saved much of their pains by the advantage thereof. And now all things were carried so secretly, no possibility of any detection, seeing the actors themselves had solemnly sworn that they would not—and all others might as safely swear they could not—make any discovery thereof.

But so it fell out, that the sitting of the parliament was put off from time to time; namely, from the seventh of February (whereon it was first appointed to meet,) it was adjourned till the fifth of October, and afterward from the fifth of October, put off till the fifth of November; and accordingly their working in the vault, which attended the motion of the parliament, had several

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distinct intermissions, and resumptions thereof; as if Divine Providence had given warning to these traitors, by the slow proceeding and oft adjourning of the parliament, mean time seriously to consider what they went about, and seasonably to desist from so damnable a design, as suspicious at last it would be ruined which so long had been retarded. But no taking-off their wheels will stay those chariots from drowning which God hath decreed shall be swallowed in the Red Sea.

'Behold! here is fire and wood; but where is the lamb for the burnt-offering?' Alas! a whole flock of lambs were not far off, all appointed to the slaughter. The king, prince Henry, peers, bishops, judges, knights, and burgesses, all designed to destruction. 'Let me smite him,' said Abishai of Saul, 'even at once, and I will not smite him the second time.' So here, a blow so sound, secret, and sudden, was intended it would not need iteration: Once and ever, the first act would finish all in an instant. But, thanks be to God, nothing was blown up but the treason, or brought to execution but the traitors. *Ch. Hist.* B. x. S. ii. 28.

Hampshire

A HAPPY country in the four elements, if culinary fire in courtesy may pass for one, with plenty of the best wood for the fuel thereof. Most pure and piercing the air of this shire; and none in England hath more plenty of clear and fresh rivulets of troutful water; not to speak of the friendly sea conveniently distanced from London. As for the earth, it is both fair and fruitful, and may pass for an expedient betwixt pleasure and

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and profit; where, by mutual consent, they are moderately accommodated. *Worthies: Hants. Natural Commodities.*

Hampshire Hogs

HAMPSHIRE hogs are allowed by all for the best bacon, being our English Westphalian, and which, well ordered, hath deceived the most judicious palates. Here the swine feed in the forest on plenty of acorns (men's meat in the golden, hogs' food in this iron age); which, going out lean, return home fat, without either care or cost of their owners. Nothing but fulness stinteth their feeding on the mast falling from the trees, where also they lodge at liberty (not pent up, as in other places, to stacks of peas), which some assign the reason of the fineness of their flesh; which, though not all glare (where no banks of lean can be seen for the deluge of fat), is no less delicious to the taste, and more wholesome for the stomach. *Idem.*

Hampshire Honey

HAMPSHIRE hath the worst and best honey in England; worst, on the heath, hardly worth five pounds the barrel; best, in the champaign, where the same quantity will well nigh be sold for twice as much. And it is generally observed, the finer the wheat and wool, both which are very good in this county, the purer the honey of that place.

Honey is useful for many purposes, especially that honey which is the lowest in any vessel. For it is an old and true rule, 'the best oil is in the top; the best wine in the middle; and the best honey in the bottom.

It

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It openeth obstructions, cleareth the breast and lights from those humours which fall from the head, looseneth the belly; with many other sovereign qualities, too many to be reckoned up in a winter's day.

However, we may observe three degrees, or kinds rather, of honey:—1. *Virgin honey*, which is the purest, of a late swarm which never bred bees.—2. *Chaste honey*, for so I may term all the rest which is not sophisticated with any addition.—3. *Harlot honey*, as which is adulterated with meal and other trash mingled therewith.

Of the first and second sort I understand the counsel of Solomon, 'My son, eat honey, for it is good;' good absolutely in the substance, though there may be excess in the quantity thereof. *Idem.*

Hampshire Wax

This is the cask, where honey is the liquor; and, being yellow by nature, is by art made white, red, and green, which I take to be the dearest colours, especially when appendant on parchment. Wax is good by day and by night, when it affordeth light, for sight the clearest; for smell the sweetest; for touch the cleanliest. Useful in law to seal instruments; and in physic, to mollify sinews, ripen and dissolve ulcers, &c. Yea, the ground and foundation of all cere-cloth (so called from *cera*) is made of wax. *Idem.*

Happiness and Heaven

If a herd of kine should meet together to fancy and define happiness, they would place it to consist in fine pastures,

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pastures, sweet grass, clear water, shadowy groves, constant Summer; but if any Winter, then warm shelter, and dainty hay, with company after their kind; counting these low things the highest happiness, because their conceit can reach no higher. Little better do the Heathen poets describe heaven, paving it with pearl, and roofing it with stars, filling it with gods and goddesses, and allowing them to drink (as if *without it* no poet's paradise!) nectar and ambrosia; heaven, indeed, being *poetarum dedecus*, 'the shame of poets,' and the disgrace of all their hyperboles, falling as far short of truth herein, as they go beyond it in other fables.

Holy State, B. iv. C. xiii. 12.

Hard Words

We have an English proverb, that 'bones bring meat to town;' and those who are desirous to feast themselves on the pleasant and profitable passages of history, must be content sometimes to stoop their stomachs to feed on hard words, which bring matter along with them.

Id. B. v. C. xviii. 6.

Help to work, the best help to live

Where we learn, that is the best charity which so relieves people's wants as that they are still continued in their calling. For, as he who teacheth one to swim, though happily [haply] he will take him by the chin, yet he expecteth that the learner shall nimbly ply the oars of his hands and feet, and strive and struggle with all his strength to keep himself above water: so those who are beneficial to poor people, may justly require of them

that

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that they use both their hands to work and feet to go in their calling, and themselves take all due labour, that they may not sink in the gulf of penury. Relieve a husbandman, yet so as that he may still continue in his husbandry; a tradesman, yet so as he may still go on in his trade; a poor scholar, yet so as he may still proceed in his studies. Hereby the commonwealth shall be a gainer. Drones bring no honey to the hive; but the painful hand of each private man contributes some profit to the public good. Hereby the able poor, the more diligent they be, the more bountiful men will be to them; while their bodies are freed from many diseases, their souls from many sins, whereof idleness is the mother. *Ruth*, xi. 15.

The Herald and the Fool

THE queen, hearing of his commotion, sent an herald unto him to desist, which herald came to Sir Thomas [Wyat]'s house deeply-moated round about, the bridge being drawn up, yet so that a place like a ford pretended a safe passage thereunto. On the inside thereof walked the proper case of a man well habited, and his face carrying no despair of wisdom therein. The herald asked him whether he might safely go over there; to whom the other slightly answered, 'Yea, yea.' But had not the strength of his horse been more than ordinary, he either had been drowned in the water, or buried in the mud.

The herald, hardly escaping, fills all the house with complaints, that, being an officer sent from the queen under the protection of the public faith, (having his coat, his conduct, upon him,) he should be so wilfully abused

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by false directions to the danger of his life by one of Sir Thomas's servants. The knight, highly offended at the fault (as gentleman enough, and enemy to actions of baseness,) summons all his servants to appear before the herald, vowing that the offender should be sent prisoner to the queen with his legs bound beneath his horse's belly, to receive from her the reward of his wickedness.

The herald challengeth the party at the first sight of him. 'Alas!' said Sir Thomas, 'he is a mere natural; as will appear, if you please to examine him.' 'Why, sirrah,' said the herald, 'did you direct me to come over where it was almost impossible to pass without drowning?' To whom the other answered, 'The ducks came over not long before you, whose legs were shorter than your horse's.' Hereat the herald smiled out his anger, adding withal, 'Sir Thomas, hereafter let your fool wear the badge of his profession on him, that he may deceive no more in this kind.' *Ch. Hist.* B. viii. S. i. 26–28.

Heraldry

SOMETHING must be premised of *Arms* in general. They may seem in some sort to be *jure divino* to the Jews, having a precept for the practice thereof: 'Every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house.'

The use thereof is great, both in war and peace. I begin with war, because *Arms* had their first rise from arms, and had a military origin. Without these an army cannot be methodised, and is but an heap of men. 'Like an army,' saith the Scripture, 'terrible with banners;' without which an army is not terrible, but ridiculous,

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ridiculous, routing itself with its own confusion. Now as no army without banners, so no banner without arms therein. 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?' Now, as the trumpet tells the time, so the banner proclaims the place of meeting; and if it have not distinguishable emblems therein, who shall know whither to repair to his captain or company.

Arms are also useful in peace, to distinguish one man from another. They be termed *nomina visibilia*, 'visible names.' For as a name notifieth a man to the ear, so his arms do signify him to the eye, though dead many years since; so signal the service of arms on tombs to preserve the memory of the deceased. *Worthies:* Ch. xvi. *Arms.*

Heredity at Fault

JEFFREY [the dwarf] was born in the parish of Okeham in this county, where his father was a very proper man, broad shouldered and chested, though his son never arrived at a full ell in stature.

It seems that families sometimes are checquered, as in brains so in bulk, that no certainty can be concluded from such alternations. *Id. Rutland. Memorable Persons.*

Heresy

EVERY scratch in the hand is not a stab to the heart: nor doth every false opinion make a heretic.

Learning is necessary in the heretic, if he trades in a critical error.—But if he only broaches dregs, and deals in some dull, sottish opinion, a trowel will serve as well as a pencil to daub on such thick coarse colours. Yea, in

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in some heresies, deep studying is so useless, that the first thing they learn is, to inveigh against all learning.

Holy state, B. v. C. 10.

Heresies clearing to the Truth

HER (Truth's) evidences which have lain long neglected will then be searched and found out: her rusty arguments will be scoured and furbished up. Many will run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. Those which before shooting at the truth, were over, under, or wide, will now with the left-handed Gibeonites, hit the mark at an hair's breadth and fail not: many parts of true doctrine have been but slenderly guarded till once they were assaulted by Heretics and many good authors in those points which were never opposed, have written but loosely and suffered unwary passages to fall from their posting pens. But when thieves are about the country every one will ride with his sword and stand on his guard: when heretics are abroad in the world, writers weigh each word, ponder each phrase, that they may give the enemies no advantage.

Coll. Serm.: Joseph's party Coloured Coat, Com. 1 Cor. xi. 19.

Heretics

NOT learning, but the conceit thereof in those that wanted it, and the abuse thereof in such as had it, caused heretics. *Holy and Profane State* B. v. C. xi.

Hertfordshire

I HAVE been informed, from an ancient justice therein, that one cannot be so advantageously placed in any part of

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of this shire, but that he may recover another county within the riding of five miles. It is the garden of England for delight; and men commonly say, that such who buy a house in Hertfordshire pay two years' purchase for the air thereof. *Worthies: Herts.*

Hertfordshire Horses

THEIR teams of horses (oft-times deservedly advanced from the cart to the coach) are kept in excellent equipage, much alike in colour and stature, fat and fair; such is their care in dressing and well-feeding them. I could name the place and person (reader, be not offended with an innocent digression), who brought his servant with a warrant before a justice of peace for stealing his grain. The man brought his five horses tailed together along with him, alleging for himself, 'that, if he were the thief, these were the receivers;' and so escaped.

Id. Herts. Natural Commodities.

High and Low

HENCE, as hills, the higher, the barrener; so men commonly, the wealthier, the worse; the more honour, the less holiness. And as rivers, when content with a small channel, run sweet and clear; when swelling to a navigable channel, by the confluence of several tributary rivulets, gather mud and mire, and grow salt and brackish, and violently bear down all before them: so many men, who in mean estates have been pious and religious, being advanced in honour, and enlarged in wealth, have grown both impious and profane towards God, cruel and tyrannical over their brethren. *Ruth*, ii. 2.

History

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History

Now know, next religion, there is nothing accomplisheth a man more than learning. Learning in a lord is as a diamond in gold. And if you fear to hurt your tender hands with thorny school-questions, there is no danger in meddling with history, which is a velvet study, and recreation work. What a pity is it to see a proper gentleman to have such a crick in his neck that he cannot look backward! yet no better is he who cannot see behind him the actions which long since were performed. History maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs; privileging him with the experience of age, without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof. Yea, it not only maketh things past, present; but enableth one to make a rational conjecture of things to come. For this world affordeth no new accidents, but in the same sense wherein we call it a new moon, which is the old one in another shape, and yet no other than what hath been formerly. Old actions return again, furbished over with some new and different circumstances. *Dedication to Holy War.*

Its Advantages

We live in a troublesome and tumultuous age; and he needs to have a very soft bed who can sleep soundly now-a-days, amidst so much loud noise, and many impetuous rumours. Wherefore it seemeth to me both a safe and cheap receipt, to procure quiet and repose to the mind which complains for want of rest, to prescribe unto it the reading of history.

Great

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Great is the pleasure and profit thereof. Zaccheus, we know, was low and little in stature; but when he had borrowed some height from the fig-tree, into which he climbed, (Luke xix. 4,) the dwarf was made a giant on a sudden; last minute beneath the arms, but now grown above the heads, of other men. Thus, our experimental knowledge is, in itself, both short and narrow, as which cannot exceed 'the span of our own life.' But when we are mounted on the advantage of history, we can not only reach the year of Christ's incarnation, but even touch the top of the world's beginning, and, at one view, over-see all remarkable accidents of former ages.

Wherefore, until such time as I shall, by God's providence, and the authority of my superiors, be restored to the open exercise of my profession, on terms consisting with my conscience, (which welcome minute I do heartily wish, and humbly wait for; and will greedily listen to the least whisper sounding thereunto,) it is my intent, God willing, to spend the remnant of my days in reading and writing such stories as my weak judgment shall commend unto me for most beneficial.

Holy and Profane State, B. v. C. xviii. *pref.*

Study of History

THE historian may make himself wise, by living as many ages as have past since the beginning of the world. His books enable him to maintain discourse, who, besides the stock of his own experience, may spend on the common purse of his reading. This directs him in his life, so that he makes the shipwrecks of others sea-marks to himself; yea, accidents which others start from for their strangeness,

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strangeness, he welcomes as his wonted acquaintance, having found precedents for them formerly. Without history a man's soul is purblind, seeing only the things which almost touch his eyes. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. vii. 7.

Historians Flatterers

MANY historians (like some painters, which rather show their skill in drawing a curious face, than in making it like to him whom it should resemble), describe princes rather what they should be, than what they were; not showing so much their goodness as their own wits.

Holy War, B. iii. C. xiv.

Paradoxical Historians

DUKE Richard was low in stature, crook-backed, with one shoulder higher than the other, having a prominent gobber-tooth, a warlike countenance which well enough became a soldier. Yet a modern author, in a book by him lately set forth, eveneth his shoulders, smootheth his back, planeth his teeth, maketh him in all points a comely and beautiful person. Nor stoppeth he here; but, proceeding from his naturals to his morals, maketh him as virtuous as handsome, which in some sense may be allowed to be true; concealing most, denying some, defending others, of his foulest facts, wherewith in all ages since he standeth charged on record. For mine own part, I confess it no heresy to maintain a paradox in history, nor am I such an enemy to wit as not to allow it leave harmlessly to disport itself, for its own content, and the delight of others. Thus Cardan hath written his *Encomium Neronis*; and others (best husbandmen who

can

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can improve the barrenest ground!) have by art endeavoured to praise as improbable subjects. But when men shall do it cordially, in sober sadness, to pervert people's judgments, and therein go against all received records, I say, singularity is the least fault can be laid to such men's charge. Besides, there are some birds, 'sea-pies' by name, who cannot rise except it be by flying against the wind, as some hope to achieve their advancement by being contrary and paradoxical in judgment to all before them. *Ch. Hist.* B. iv. S. iv. 8.

Home-made Clothes

As for the shape and making of the Jewish garments, they were no affecters (Englishmen-like) of various fashions, but according to the commendable gravity of the ancient Germans, kept the same form for many ages. Indeed, their clothes, being for the most part loose vestments, not exactly fitted to their bodies, but only cast over, wrapped about, or girded unto them, the less curiosity was required in their making. Hence it is that we find the Philistines' clothes fitting Samson's friends (Judg. xiv. 19), and Jonathan's robe given to David (1 Sam. xviii. 4), serving him without any considerable difference; and because we meet not with the trade of a tailor, clean through the Scripture (though frequent mention of weavers and fullers therein) it seems anciently no distinct occupation among the Jews, being probable the men or their wives made their own clothes, with Dorcas, who made coats and garments for the widows, whilst she was with them (Acts ix. 39). Thus the state and gallantry of the Jews consisted not in their changeable fashions

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fashions but in their various changes, orient colours, costly matter, curious embroideries, of their garments.

Pisgah Sight, B. iv. C. vi. 9.

Honour and Worth

AND now, my lord, how silly a thing is that honour which lies at the mercy of such men's mouths, to tender or deny the same! The best is, men's statures are not extended or contracted with their shadows; so as to be stretched out into giants in the morning, shrunk up into dwarfs at noon, and stretched out at night into giants again. Intrinsical worth doth not increase and abate, wax and wane, ebb and flow, according to the fancy of others.

Ch. Hist. B. viii. *Dedication.*

Horses

THESE are men's wings, wherewith they make such speed. A generous creature a horse is, sensible in some sort of honour, made most handsome by (that which deforms man most) pride. The kings of Israel were not forbidden (as some may mistake) the having, but the multiplying of them; chiefly because they were a foreign, yea, an Egyptian commodity, and God would cut off from his children all occasion of commerce with that country, which was the staple-place of idolatry.

Our English horses have a mediocrity of all necessary good properties in them; as neither so slight as the Barb, nor so slovenly as the Flemish, nor so fiery as the Hungarian, nor so airy as the Spanish gennets (especially if, as reported, they be conceived of the wind), nor so earthly as those in the Low Countries, and generally all the German

German horse. For stature and strength, they are of a middle size, and are both seemly and serviceable in a good proportion. And, whilst the seller praiseth them too much, the buyer too little, the indifferent stander-by will give them this due commendation.

Worthies: Yorks. Natural Commodities.

Hospitality

HOSPITALITY is threefold:—for one's family, this is of necessity; for strangers, this is courtesy; for the poor, this is charity. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. 1.

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MEASURE not thy entertainment of a guest by his estate, but thine own.—Because he is a lord, forget not that thou art but a gentleman; otherwise, if with feasting him thou breakest thyself, he will not cure thy rupture, and (perchance) rather deride than pity thee.

Id. B. iii. C. i. 2.

The Good Husband

HE beats not his wife after his death.—One, having a shrewd wife, yet loath to use her hardly in his life-time, awed her with telling her, that he would beat her when he was dead; meaning, that he would leave her no maintenance. This humour is unworthy a worthy man, who will endeavour to provide her a competent estate. Yet he that impoverisheth his children to enrich his widow, destroys a quick-hedge to make a dead one.

Id. B. i. C. iii. 8.

Humility.

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Humility

EARTHLY Kings may make men humbled. God alone can humble. *Hist.* B. v. S. ii. 4.

Hypercriticism

IT is a greater fault rigidly to censure, than to commit a small oversight. The one showeth himself man, in mistaking; the other no man, in not pardoning a light mistake. *Holy War*, B. ii. C. iv.

Hypocrites

HYPOCRITES are of so glutinous a nature they will stick close in every visible Church. They cannot be divided who cannot be discerned. *Coll. Serm.: Truth Maintained.*

Ignorance at Fault

FOR, ignorant people count all circles above their own sphere to be conjuring; and presently cry out, those things are done by black art for which their dim eyes can see no colour in reason. And in such case, when they cannot fly up to heaven to make it a miracle, they fetch it from hell to make it magic, though it may lawfully be done by natural causes. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. x.

Imaginary Coincidences

WE will conclude all with Roger Hoveden's witty descant on the time:—When Jerusalem was won by the Christians, and afterwards when it was lost, an Urban was pope of Rome, a Frederick emperor of Germany, an Heraclius patriarch of Jerusalem. But by his leave, though

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though the first of his observations be true, the second is a flat falsity, the third a foul mistake, and may thus be mended: (it is charity to lend a crutch to a lame conceit) —When the cross was taken from the Persians, Heraclius was emperor; and when it was taken from the Turks, Heraclius was patriarch. Thus these curious observations (like over-small watches), not one of a hundred goeth true. Though it cannot be denied, but the same name (as Henry of England, one the win-all, another the lose-all in France) hath often been happy and unhappy in founding and confounding of kingdoms. But such nominal toys are rags not worth a wise man's stooping to take them up. *Holy War*, B. ii. C. 46.

An Index

An Index is the bag and baggage of a book, of more use than honour; even such who vehemently slight it, secretly using it, if not for need, for speed of what they desire to find. *Pisgah Sight, ad fin.*

An Interdict, 1207

See now on a sudden the sad face of the English church!—a face without a tongue, no singing of service, no saying of mass, no reading of prayers: as for preaching of sermons, the laziness and ignorance of those times had long before interdicted them. None need pity the living (hearing the impatient complaints of lovers, for whose marriage no license could be procured), when he looks on the dead, who were buried in ditches, like dogs, without any prayers said upon them. True, a well-informed Christian knows full well, that a corpse, though

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cast in a bog, shall not stick there at the day of judgment; thrown into a wood, shall then find out the way; buried by the highway's side, is in the ready road to resurrection; in a word, that wheresoever a body be put or placed, it will equally take the alarm at the last trumpet: yet seeing these people believed, that a grave in consecrated ground was a good step to heaven, and were taught that prayers after their death were essential to their salvation, it must needs put strange fears into the heads and hearts both of such which deceased and their friends which survived them. *Ch. Hist.* B. iii. S. iv. 7.

Inventors and Improvers

I CONFESS it is easier to add to any art, than first to invent it; yet, because there is a perfection of degrees, as well as kinds, eminent improvers of an art may be allowed for the co-inventors thereof being founders of that accession which they add thereunto, for which they deserve to be both regarded and rewarded. *Worthies:* C. xii.

Irishmen in England

I MUCH admire, that never an eminent Irish native grew in England to any greatness; so many English have prospered in that country. But, it seems, we love to live there, where we may command; and they care not to come where they must obey.

Id. C. xxiv. *English Gentry.*

Iron

GREAT the necessity hereof; some nations having lived in the ignorance of gold and silver, scarce any without the use of iron. Indeed we read not of it in making

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making the Tabernacle (though from no mention, no use thereof therein cannot infallibly be inferred), which being but a slight and portable building, brass might supply the want thereof. But in the Temple, which was a firmer fabric, we find 'Iron for the things of Iron,' and a hundred thousand talents of that metal employed therein.

Great the quantity of iron made in this county; whereof much used therein, and more exported thence into other parts of the land, and beyond the seas. But whether or no the private profit thereby will at long-running countervail the public loss in the destruction of woods, I am as unwilling to discuss as unable to decide. Only let me add the ensuing complaint, wherein the timber-trees of this county deplore their condition, in my opinion richly worth the reader's perusal:

'Jove's oak, the warlike ash, veined elm, the softer beech,
Short hazel, maple plain, light asp, the bending wych,
Tough holly, and smooth birch, must altogether burn:
What should the builders serve, supplies the forgers' turn;
When under public good, base private gain takes hold,
And we poor woful Woods to ruin lastly sold.'

But it is to be hoped that a way may be found out, to *charke* sea-coal in such manner as to render it useful for the making of iron. All things are not found out in one age, as reserved for future discovery; and that perchance may be easy for the next, which seems impossible to this generation. *Id. Sussex. Natural Commodities.*

Jerusalem: its Aspect

JERUSALEM better acquitteth itself to the ear than to the eye: being no whit beautiful at all. The situation thereof

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thereof is very uneven, rising into hills and sinking into dales; the lively emblem of the fortunes of the place; sometimes advanced with prosperity, sometimes depressed in misery. Once it was well compacted, and *built as a city that is at unity in itself*; but now distracted from itself: the suspicious houses (as if afraid to be infected with more misery than they have already, by contiguousness to others) keep off at a distance, having many waste places betwixt them; not one fair street in the whole city. *Holy War*, B. v. C. 27.

Jesting

HARMLESS mirth is the best cordial against the consumption of the spirits; wherefore jesting is not unlawful if it trespasseth not in quantity, quality, or season.

Holy State, B. iii. C. 2.

. . .

HE that will lose his friend for a jest, deserves to die a beggar by the bargain.—Yet some think their conceits, like mustard, not good except they bite. We read, that all those who were born in England, the year after the beginning of the great mortality 1349, wanted their four cheek-teeth. Such let thy jests be, that they may not grind the credit of thy friend, and make not jests so long till thou becomest one. *Id.* B. iii. C. ii. 7.

A Jest of Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners

WHAT credit there is to be given to that thorough old (if not doting) prophecy, that a Spaniard shall one day recover Jerusalem, we leave to the censure of others; and

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and meantime we will conclude more serious matters with this pleasant passage:—

When the late wars in the days of Queen Elizabeth were hot between England and Spain, there were commissioners on both sides appointed to treat of peace; they met at a town of the French king's; and first it was debated, what tongue the negotiation should be handled in. A Spaniard, thinking to give the English commissioners a shrewd gird, proposed the French tongue as most fit, it being a language which the Spaniards were well skilled in; 'and for these gentlemen of England, I suppose (said he) that they cannot be ignorant of the language of their fellow subjects; their queen is queen of France as well as England.' 'Nay, in faith, masters (replied Doctor Dale, the master of requests) the French tongue is too vulgar for a business of this secrecy and importance, especially in a French town; we will rather treat in Hebrew the language of Jerusalem, whereof your master is king; I suppose you are herein as well skilled as we in French.'

Holy War, B. v. C. 29.

A Good Judge

He is patient and attentive in hearing the pleadings on both sides.—And hearkens to the witnesses, though tedious. He may give a waking testimony, who hath but a dreaming utterance; and many country people must be impertinent, before they can be pertinent, and cannot give evidence about a hen, but first they must begin with it in the egg. All which our Judge is contented to hearken to. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. vii. 1.

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. . .

THE Judge may be deceived by false evidence. But blame not the hand of the dial, if it points at a false hour, when the fault is in the wheels of the clock which direct it, and are out of frame. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. vii. 7.

Judgment lingers

GOD'S justice on offenders goes not always in the same path, nor the same pace: and he is not pardoned for the fault, who is for a while reprieved from the punishment; yea, sometimes the guest in the inn goes quietly to bed, before the reckoning for his supper is brought to him to discharge. *Holy and Profane State*, B. v. C. xix. *ad fin.*

Judge nothing before the Time

LET us not with rash judging thrust all into the pit of hell whom we see walking near the brink thereof.

Holy War, B. iv. C. 5.

God's Judgments

I CONFESS, God's best servants sometimes have had sad and sudden ends: witness good Eli himself, who fell down, and brake his neck, 1 Sam. iv. 18. I confess likewise, that some wicked men, who have lived like lions, have died (to use the common country-phrase) like lambs; or, to use the expression of the Psalmist, 'they have no bands in their death,' Psalm lxxiii. 4; so fairly and quietly do they expire. It is not good, therefore, to be over-tampering in this particular, (our Saviour himself retrenching the censoriousness of the Jews, for falling so heavy on the memories of those on whom the tower of

Siloe

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Siloe fell, Luke xiii. 4,) and infallibly to infer, from their fatal death, their final damnation. However, when a remarkable death suddenly follows a notorious, wicked life, even such passengers as are posting in the speed of their private affairs are bound to make a stand, and solemnly to observe the justice of God's proceedings therein; the rather, because Bellarmine, our adversary, affirmeth, that, *infelix exitus eorum qui ecclesiam oppugnant*, 'the unhappy end of the adversaries therof,' is one of the marks of the true church.

Ch. Hist. B. viii. S. ii. 36.

Knives

THESE are the teeth of old men, and useful to those of all ages; for, though some think themselves scarce gentlemen with knives, as good as they, conceive themselves scarce men without them, so necessary they are on all occasions. The most of these for common use of country people are made in this county; whereof the bluntest, with a sharp stomach, will serve to cut meat if before them. Sheffield, a remarkable market, is the staple town for this commodity, and so hath been these three hundred years; witness Chaucer, speaking of the accoutrements of the miller,

'A Sheffield whitel bare he in his hose.'

One may justly wonder how a knife may be sold for one penny, three trades anciently distinct concurring thereunto, bladers, haft-makers, and sheath-makers, all since united into the corporation of Cutlers. Nor must we forget, that though plain knife-making was very ancient in this county, yet Thomas Matthews on Fleet-bridge,

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London, was the first Englishman who (quinto Elizabethæ) made fine knives, and procured a prohibition, that no more ships-lading of hafts should be brought from beyond the seas. *Worthies: Yorks. Manufactures.*

The Court Lady

She is a good scholar, and well learned in useful authors.—Indeed, as, in purchases, a house is valued at nothing, because it returneth no profit, and requires great charges to maintain it; so, for the same reasons, learning in a woman is but little to be prized. But, as for great ladies, who ought to be a confluence of all rarities and perfections, some learning in them is not only useful but necessary.

In discourse, her words are rather fit than fine, very choice, and yet not chosen.—Though her language be not gaudy, yet the plainness thereof pleaseth, it is so proper, and handsomely put on. Some, having a set of fine phrases, will hazard an impertinency to use them all, as thinking they give full satisfaction for dragging in the matter by head and shoulders, if they dress it in quaint expressions. Others often repeat the same things; the Platonic year of their discourses being not above three days long, in which term all the same matter returns over again, threadbare talk ill suiting with the variety of their clothes.

She affects not the vanity of foolish fashions.—But is decently apparelled according to her state and condition. He that should have guessed the bigness of Alexander's soldiers, by their shields left in India, would much overproportion their true greatness. But what a vast overgrown

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grown creature would some guess a woman to be, taking his aim by the multitude and variety of clothes and ornaments, which some of them use! insomuch as the ancient Latins called a woman's wardrobe, *mundus*, 'a world;' wherein, notwithstanding, was much *terra incognita* then undiscovered, but since found out by the curiosity of modern fashion-mongers. We find a map of this 'world' drawn by God's Spirit, (Isaiah iii. 18–24), wherein one-and-twenty women's ornaments, all superfluous, are reckoned up; which at this day are much increased. The 'moons,' there mentioned, which they wore on their heads, may seem since grown to the full in the luxury of after-ages. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. xiii. 6–8.

The Lamb and the Lion

One may be a lamb in private wrongs; but in hearing general affronts to goodness, they are asses who are not lions. *Id.* B. iv. C. xiii. 4.

The Lambeth Articles

When these articles came abroad into the world, men's brains and tongues, as since their pens, were employed about the authority of the same, and the obedience due unto them; much puzzled to find the new place, where rightly to rank them in reputation; how much above the results and resolutions of private divines, and how much beneath the authority of a provincial synod. Some there were that almost equalled their authenticalness with the acts of a synod, requiring the like conformity of men's judgments unto them. . . .

Others maintain the contrary. For, grant each man,

in

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in this conference at Lambeth, one of a thousand for learning and religion; yet was he but one in power and place, and had no proxy or deputation, the two Cambridge doctors excepted, to appear in the behalf of others; and therefore their determinations, though of great use to direct, could be but of little authority to conclude and command the consent of others.

But a third sort, offended with the matter of the articles, thought that the two archbishops, and the rest at this meeting deserved censure for holding an unlawful conventicle. For they had not express command from the queen to meet, debate and decide such controversies. . . .

One goeth further to affirm that those articles of Lambeth were afterwards forbidden by public authority; but when, where and by whom, he is not pleased to impart to us. And strange it is that a public prohibition should be whispered so softly, that this author alone should hear it and none other to my knowledge take notice thereof. . . .

And now I perceive, I must tread tenderly, because I go not (as before) on men's graves, but am ready to touch the quick of some yet alive. I know how dangerous it is to follow truth too near to the heels; yet better it is that the teeth of an historian be struck out of his head for writing the truth, than that they remain still and rot in his jaws, by feeding too much on the sweetmeats of flattery. All that I will say of the credit of these articles is this,—that as medals of gold and silver, though they will not pass in payment for current coin, because not stamped with the king's inscription, yet they will go

with

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with goldsmiths for as much as they are in weight; so, though these articles want authentic reputation to pass for provincial Acts, as lacking sufficient authority, yet will they be readily received of orthodox Christians for as far as their own purity bears conformity to God's word. And though those learned divines be not acknowledged as competent judges to pass definitive sentence in those points, yet they will be taken as witnesses beyond exception; whose testimony is an infallible evidence what was the general and received doctrine of England in that age, about the fore-named controversies.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. viii. 24–28.

Lampreys

A DEFORMED fish, which for the many holes therein, one would conceive nature intended it rather for an instrument of music than for man's food. The best manner of dressing whereof, saith my author, is 'to kill it in malmsey, close the mouth thereof with a nutmeg, the holes with so many cloves; and when it is rolled up round, putting in thereto filbert-nut-kernels stamped, crumbs of bread, oil, spices, &c.' Others (but those *miso-lampreys*) do add, that, after all this cost, even cast them away, seeing money is better lost than health; and the meat will rather be delicious than wholesome, the eating whereof cost king Henry the First his life. But, by their favour, that king did not die of lampreys, but of excess in eating them; and I am confident the Jews might surfeit of manna itself, if eating thereof above due proportion.

Worthies: Worcester. Natural Commodities.

The

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The Rigour of the Law

THE most wholesome laws would be poison, (justice, hot in the fourth degree, is cruelty,) if enforced at all times, and on all persons, to the utmost extremity.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. iv. 10.

Lawn Sleeves

LET canvass be rough and rugged, lawn ought to be soft and smooth; meekness, mildness, and mercy being more proper for men of the episcopal function.

Id. B. xi. S. ii. 68.

Lead

PLENTY of the best (for the kind thereof) is digged out of Mendip hills. Indeed it is not so soft, pliant, and equally fusile, as that in Derbyshire; not so proper for sheeting, because, when melted, it runs into knots, and therefore little known to, and less used by, our London plumbers; for, being of a harder nature, it is generally transported beyond the seas, and employed to make bullets and shot, for which purpose it is excellent. May foreigners enjoy *wild* lead, to kill men; whilst we make use of *tame* lead, to cover houses, and keep people warm and dry therein. *Worthies: Somerset. Natural Commodities.*

Undated Letters

BUT one thing I must clear in our entrance thereon, in excuse that these letters are dateless as to the day and month; a great omission, which I have seen in many originals, whose authors so minded the matter that they neglected

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neglected the time, the present dispatching of them being date enough to their purpose, though now the want thereof leaves posterity at a loss. A blue coat without a badge is but a white coat in effect; as nothing informing the beholder to what lord the bearer thereof doth relate: and as little instructive (will some say) are these letters as to the point of chronology. But be it known, that no reader's stomach can be so sharp set on the criticalness of chronology, but that, being fed with the certainty of the year, he will not be famished with the uncertainty of the month or day. Indeed, as such whose names are casually omitted in the register may recover the truth of their age by a comparative computation of their years, who were born about the same time; so, by the mixture and comparing of these dateless letters with those having date of secular affairs, I could competently have collected and inserted the time, save that I loathe to obtrude any thing conjectural on the reader's belief.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. v. 9.

Letter-History best History

I SHALL now withdraw myself, or at leastwise stand by a silent spectator, whilst I make room for far my betters to come forth and speak in the present controversy of church-government. Call it not cowardice, but count it caution in me, if desirous in this difference to lie at a close-guard, and offer as little play as may be on either side, whilst the reader shall behold the masters of defence on both sides engaged therein in these following letters of state. Baronius, the great Roman Annalist, was wont to say, *Epistolaris historia est optima historia*, 'That is the best

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best history which is collected out of letters.' How much of the Acts of the Apostles (especially for the regulation of time) is contained in the Epistles of St. Paul! Of the primitive history, the most authentical part is what is gathered out of the letters of the Fathers.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. v. 8, 9.

Liars unconscionable, do little Harm

THE best is, that unconscionable liars, though they most hurt themselves, do the least harm others, whose loud ones are both the poison and the antidote, seeing no wise man will believe them. Small grit and gravel may choke a man; but that stone can never stop his throat which cannot enter into his mouth.

Id. B. i. 30.

Lies beget Lies

A wilful falsehood told is a cripple not able to stand by itself, without some to support it; it is easy to tell a lie, hard to tell but a lie.

Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Script. Observ. 7.

Liturgy, some Revisors

SOME complained against the liturgy to the lord Burleigh, of whom he demanded, 'whether they desired the taking away thereof.' They answered, 'No. But only the amendment of what was offensive therein.' He required them to make a better, such as they would have settled in the stead thereof. Whereupon,

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The first classis framed a new one, somewhat according to the form of Geneva.

The second classis, disliking it, altered it in six hundred particulars.

The third quarrelled at these alterations, and resolved on a new model.

The fourth classis dissented from the former.

Thus, because they could not agree amongst themselves, that wise statesman put them off for the present, until they should present him a pattern with a perfect consent. *Ch. Hist.* B. ix. S. vi. 32.

Main Amber

Main is in Cornish the stone; and *Amber*, as some conceive, of Ambrosius that valiant Briton, erected probably by him on some victory achieved against the Romans, or some other enemies. This is a master-piece of mathematics and critical proportions, being a great stone of so exact position on the top of a rock, that any weakness by touching it may move it, and yet no force can remove it, so justly it is poised. I have heard in common discourse, when this Main Amber hath been made the emblem of such men's dispositions, who would listen to all counsel, and seem inclined thereunto, but are so fixed, that no reason can alter them from their first resolution.

But know, reader, that this wonder is now *unwondered*; for I am credibly informed, that some soldiers of late have utterly destroyed it. Oh, how dangerous is it for art to stand in the way where ignorance is to pass.

Worthies: Cornwall. Natural Commodities.

Malt

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Malt

THOUGH commonness causeth contempt, excellent the art of the first inventing thereof. I confess it facile to make barley-water, an invention which found out itself, with little more than the bare joining the ingredients together. But to make malt for drink, was a master-piece indeed. How much of philosophy concurred to the first kill of malt! and before it was turned on the floor, how often was it tossed in the brain of the first inventor thereof.

First, to give it a new growth more than the earth had bestowed thereon. Swelling it in the water, to make it last the longer by breaking it, and taste the sweeter by corrupting it. Secondly, by making it to pass the fire, the grain (by art fermented) acquiring a lusciousness (which by nature it had not), whereby it doth both strengthen and sweeten the water wherein it is boiled.

Worthies: Derbyshire. Manufactures.

'"Manners maketh Man,"

quoth WILLIAM WICKHAM.'

This generally was his motto, inscribed frequently on the places of his founding; so that it hath since acquired a proverbial reputation. We commonly say, 1. In the *Church*; 'God makes a man,' as who truly created him. 2. In the *Court*; 'Clothes make a man,' as which habit and adorn him. 3. In the *Change*; 'Money makes a man,' which puts him in a solvable condition. 4. In the *Schools*; 'Manners make a man,' as which complete and accomplish him.

Grant

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Grant the two middle expressions, the extravagancy of our pride and covetousness, the first and last must be allowed proportionable to piety and truth. Without manners, one is but a man-beast, or centaur.

Now seeing no man without manners, no manners without some learning, no learning without teaching, no teaching of youth to that in a grammar free-school, men to that in a college in an university; how much thanks doth posterity owe to this Wickham's memory.

Id.: Hants. Proverbs.

The Manufactures of England

Some Heathen have causelessly complained of Nature as a step-mother to mankind, because other creatures come into the world clothed with feathers, furs, or fleeces, &c., or armed with paws, claws, beaks, tusks, horns, hoofs; whilst man is exposed naked into the world: I say a causeless charge, because Providence having given men hands, and reason to use them (two blessings denied to other creatures), all clothing and fencing is eminently and transcendantly bestowed upon him.

It is very remarkable to see the manufactures in England, not knowing whether more to admire the rarity or variety thereof. Undoubtedly the wealth of a nation consisteth in driving a native commodity through the most hands to the highest artificial perfection, whereof we have taken especial cognizance in the respective countries, yet so as (though briefly naming) not largely handling that manufacture whereon we have formerly insisted.

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It must not be forgotten that there be some things which cannot properly be termed natural commodities, because of their quality altered and disguised by men's industry; and yet they attain not the reputation of manufactures. As salt, being water boiled; malt, barley dried: cider, apples pressed. *Worthies:* C. i.

Marriage

Deceive not thyself by over-expecting happiness in the married estate.—Look not therein for contentment greater than God will give, or a creature in this world can receive; namely, to be free from all inconveniences. Marriage is not like the hill Olympus, ὅλος λαμπρός, 'wholly clear,' without clouds. Yea, expect both wind and storms sometimes, which when blown over, the air is the clearer and wholesomer for it. Make account of certain cares and troubles which will attend thee. Remember the nightingales, which sing only some months in the spring, but commonly are silent when they have hatched their eggs, as if their mirth were turned into care for their young ones. Yet all the molestations of marriage are abundantly recompensed with other comforts, which God bestoweth on them who make a wise choice of a wife. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xxii. 3.

* * *

Let there be no great disproportion in age.—They that marry ancient people merely in expectation to bury them, hang themselves, in hope that one will come and cut the halter. *Id.* B. iii. C. xxii. 6.

Martyrdom

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Martyrdom

Heart-of-oak hath sometimes warped a little in the scorching heat of persecution.—Their want of true courage herein cannot be excused. Yet many censure them for surrendering up their forts after a long siege, who would have yielded up their own at the first summons. O! there is more required to make one valiant, than to call Cranmer or Jewel 'coward'; as if the fire in Smithfield had been no hotter than what is painted in 'the Book of Martyrs.' *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xix. 6.

Martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer

Old Hugh Latimer was Ridley's partner at the stake, some time bishop of Worcester, who crawled thither after him; one who had lost more learning than many ever had, who flout at his plain sermons; though his down-right style was as necessary in that ignorant age, as it would be ridiculous in ours. Indeed, he condescended to people's capacity; and many men unjustly count those low in learning, who indeed do but stoop to their auditors. Let me see any of our sharp wits do that with the edge—which his bluntness did with the back—of the knife, and persuade so many to restitution of ill-gotten goods. Though he came after Ridley to the stake, he got before him to heaven: his body, made tinder by age, was no sooner touched by the fire, but instantly this old Simeon had his *Nunc dimittis*, and brought the news to heaven that his brother was following after. *Id.* B. iv. C. xii.

Martyrs

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Martyrs: Estimation of them

But before I go further, reader, pardon a digression; and yet is it none, for it is necessary. I have, within the narrow scantling of my experimental remembrance, observed strange alteration in the world's valuing of those learned men who lived in that age; and take it plainly, without welt or guard; for he that smarts for speaking truth, hath a plaster in his own conscience.

When I was a child, I was possessed with a reverent esteem of them, as most holy and pious men, dying Martyrs, in the days of queen Mary, for the profession of the truth; which opinion having, from my parents, taken quiet possession of my soul, they must be very forcible reasons which eject it.

Since that time, they have been much cried down in the mouths of many, who, making a coroner's inquest upon their death, hath found them little better than felons *de se*, dying in their own blood, for a mere formality, *de modo*, 'of the manner' of the presence, and a sacrifice in the sacrament; who might easily, with one small distinction, have knocked off their fetters, and saved their lives. By such the coronet of martyrdom is plucked off from their memories; and others, more moderate, equally part their death betwixt their enemies' cruelty, and their own over-forwardness. . . .

Thus the prices of Martyrs' ashes rise and fall in Smithfield-market. However, their real worth floats not with people's fancies, no more than a rock in the sea rises and falls with the tide. St. Paul is still St. Paul, though the Lycaonians now would sacrifice to him, and presently

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presently after would sacrifice him. These bishops, ministers, and lay-people, who were put to death in queen Mary's days, were worthy saints of God, holy and godly men, but had their faults, failings, and imperfections. Had they not been men, they had not burnt; yea, had they not been more than men, (by God's assistance,) they had not burnt. Every true Christian should, but none but strong Christians will, die at the stake.

Holy State, B. iv. C. xi.

A Good Master of a College

His learning, if beneath eminency, is far above contempt.—Sometimes ordinary scholars make extraordinary good masters. Every one who can play well on Apollo's harp, cannot skilfully drive his chariot; there being a peculiar mystery of government. Yet, as a little alloy makes gold to work the better, so, perchance, some dulness in a man makes him fitter to manage secular affairs; and those who have climbed up Parnassus but half-way, better behold worldly business, (as lying low and nearer to their sight,) than such as have climbed up to the top of the mount. *Id.* B. ii. C. xiv. 1.

Mediocrity

The general weight of God's work in the church lieth on men of middle and moderate parts. That servant who improved his two talents into four, did more than the other who increased his five into ten. (Matthew xxv. 12.) Tradesmen will tell you, it is harder to double a little than treble a great deal; seeing great banks easily improve themselves, by those advantages which smaller

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sums want. And surely many honest (though not so eminent) ministers, who employ all their might in God's service, equal, (if not exceed,) both in his acceptance and the church's profit, the performances of such who far excel them in abilities. *Hist. Camb.* S. vi. 10.

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THIS is the misery of moderation; I recall my word (seeing misery properly must have sin in it). This is an affliction attending moderate men, that they have not an active party to side with them and favour them.

Men of great stature will quickly be made porters to a king, and those diminutively little, dwarfs to a queen, whilst such who are of a middle height may get themselves masters where they can. The moderate man, eminent for no excess or extravagancy in his judgment, will have few patrons to protect, or persons to adhere unto him. But what saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 19: If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable.

Good Thoughts: Mixt Contempl. on Better Times, 33.

Meditation

MEDITATION, which is the chewing of the cud of the food of the soul, turning it into clean and wholesome nourishment. *Worthies: Wilts. Writers.*

Memory

NONE alive ever heard me pretend to the art of memory, who in my book have decried it as a trick, no art; and, indeed, is more of fancy than memory. I confess, some ten years since, when I came out of the pulpit

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pulpit of St. Dunstan's East; one (who since wrote a book thereof) told me in the vestry, before credible people, that he in Sidney College had taught me the art of memory. I returned unto him, that it was not so; *for I could not remember that I had ever seen his face;* which, I conceive, was a real refutation. However, seeing that a natural memory is the best flower in mine, and not the worst in the Animadvertor's garden, let us turn our competitions herein unto mutual thankfulness to the God of heaven. *App. Inj. Inn.* P. ii. B. iv. 94.

['He had a memory so tenacious and comprehensive, that it enabled him to do things which are hardly credible. He could repeat five hundred strange words after twice hearing, and could make use of a sermon verbatim, if he once heard it. He undertook once, in passing to and fro, from Temple-Bar to the furthest part of Cheapside, to tell at his return every sign as it stood in order on both sides of the way, repeating them either backwards or forwards: and he did it exactly. His manner of writing [when thus testing his memory] was very strange and rare, from the top of the page to the bottom, something like that of the Chinese. The manner was thus: he would write near the margin the first words of every line down to the foot of the paper; then, by beginning at the head again, would so perfectly fill up every one of these lines, as, without spaces, interlineations, or contractions, would so connect the ends and beginnings, that the sense would appear as complete, as if he had written it in a continued series after the ordinary manner.']

Note to above by an Anonymous Biographer.

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OVERBURDEN not thy memory, to make so faithful a servant a slave.—Remember, Atlas was weary. Have as much reason as a camel,—to rise when thou hast thy full load. Memory is like a purse,—if it be over-full that it cannot shut, all will drop out of it. Take heed of a gluttonous curiosity to feed on many things, lest the greediness of the appetite of thy memory spoil the digestion thereof. Beza's case was peculiar and memorable: Being above four-score years of age, he perfectly could say by heart any Greek chapter in St. Paul's epistles, or any thing else which he had learned long before, but forgot whatsoever was newly told him; his memory, like an inn, retaining old guests, but having no room to entertain new. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. x. 4.

Many, especially Memory-Mistakes, and Pen-Slips, must be expected in a great Volume

IT is the advantage of a small book, that the author's eye may in a manner be incumbent at once over it all, from the beginning to the end thereof; a cause why they may be more exactly corrected. A garden hard by one's house is easier weeded and trimmed, than a field lying at some distance. Books which swell to a great volume, cannot be spun with so even a thread, but will run coarser here and there; yea, and have knots in them sometimes, whereof the author is not so sensible as the reader; as the faults in children are not so soon found in them by their own fathers, as by strangers. Thus the poet:—

Verùm opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.

As

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As for memory-mistakes, (which are not the sleeping, but winking, of an author,) they are so far from overthrowing the credit of any book, as a speck, not paring-deep, in the rind of an apple is from proving of the same rotten to the core. Yea, there want not learned writers (whom I need not name) of the opinion, that even the instrumental penmen of the scripture might commit *ἁμαρτήματα μνημονικά*; though, open that window to profaneness, and it will be in vain to shut any doors: 'Let God be true, and every man a liar.' However, I mention their judgments to this purpose, to show that memory-mistakes have not been counted such heinous matters, but venial in their own nature, as not only finding but deserving pardon.

I confess when such mistakes become common and customary in an author, they mar the credit of his book, and intolerably abuse the reader. Nothing is lighter in itself than a single crumb of sand, yet many of them put together are the heaviest of bodily burdens: 'heavier than the sand of the sea,' Job vi. 3. What is slight in itself, if numerous, will become ponderous; but I hope that memory-mistakes and pen-slips in my book will not be found so frequent; and desire the benefit of this plea to be allowed me but four times, in my answer to the Animadvertor: a number low enough, I hope, for the ingenuous reader to grant, though perchance too high for me to request. *Inj. Inn.* P. i. C. v.

Mercenary Soldiers

And here my discourse (by the leave of the reader) must a little sally forth to treat of the danger of entertaining

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taining mercenary soldiers. They may perchance be called in with a whistle, but scarce cast out with a whip. If they be slugs, they endanger a state by their slothfulness; if spirited men, by their activity. Cæsar Borgia, Machiavel's idol, whose practice he maketh the pattern of policy, saith, that he had rather be conquered with his own men, than be conqueror with an army of others, because he counted that conquest to be none at all.

We may observe, the Low Countries have best thrived by setting this trade of journeymen soldiers on work. Let them thank God and the good English; for if Francis duke of Anjou with his Frenchmen had well succeeded, no doubt he would have spread his bread with their butter. Next them the Venetians have sped best; for they have the trick, when they find it equally dangerous to cashier their mercenary general or to entertain him any longer, fairly to kill him, as they served Carmignola. England hath best thrived without them; under God's protection we stand on our own legs. The last I find are a handful of Almains used against Kett, in Norfolk in the days of King Edward VI. And let it be our prayers, that as for those hirelings which are to be last tried and least trusted, we never have want of their help, and never have too much of it. *Holy War*, B. ii. C. 35.

Merit not measured by Success

THOSE actions are not ungodly which are unsuccessful, nor those pious which are prosperous; seeing the lawfulness of an action is not to be gathered from the joyfulness of the event, but from the justness of the cause, for which it is undertaken. *Ruth*, Ch. i. 3.

Metals

BECAUSE metals are found in mountains, it is madness to mine for them in every rich meadow.

Worthies: Yorks. Writers.

Militant not Triumphant

TRIUMPHANT perfection is not to be hoped for in the militant church; there will be in it many spots and wrinkles as long as it consisteth of sinful mortal men, the members thereof: it is Christ's work, not man's work, to make a perfect reformation.

Such, therefore, are no good politicians who will make a sore to mend a spot, cause a wound to plain a wrinkle, do a great and certain mischief, when a small and uncertain benefit will thereby redound.

Good Thoughts: Mixt Contempl. on Better Times, P. ii. 31.

Millstones

WHEN in motion, in default of grist to grind, they (millstones) will fire one another; so necessary is foreign employment for active spirits, to divert them from home-bred combustions. *Worthies: Anglesea.*

Miners

I HAVE read that the vicars in that country do receive every tenth dish of ore for their due, being obliged thereby to pray heartily for the miners. Now though no such place or profit belongeth unto me, yet, treating of this subject, I conceive myself bound, if not in conscience, in courtesy, to wish these workmen a good-

speed

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speed in their lawful endeavours, whilst they only undermine the earth, and not their neighbours' right by fraudulent practices. May their lot prove a prize unto them, that they may gain, at the least, no blank to lose thereby. Particularly, may Divine Providence secure the persons of their labourers from damps and other casualties, which have happened to many, when the earth, though cruel to kill, was courteous to bury, them by the same mischance. *Worthies: Devon. The farewell.*

The Faithful Minister

However, let every minister take up this resolution: 'To preach the word, to be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine.' If thou hast competent means comfortably to subsist on, be the more thankful to God the Fountain, to man the channel; painful in thy place, pitiful to the poor, cheerful in spending some, careful in keeping the rest. If not, yet retire not for want of a spur. Do something for love, and not all for money; for love of God, of goodness, of the godly, of a good conscience. Know, it is better to want means, than to detain them; the one only suffers, the other deeply sins: and it is as dangerous a persecution to religion, to draw the fuel from it, as to cast water on it. Comfort thyself that another world will pay this world's debts, 'and great is thy reward with God in heaven:' *a reward*, in respect of his promise; *a gift*, in respect of thy worthlessness: and yet the less thou lookest at it, the surer thou shalt find it, if labouring with thyself to serve God for Himself;

self; in respect of whom even heaven itself is but a sinister end. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xxv. 8.

Misprints in Bibles

MANY impressions of English Bibles, printed at Amsterdam, and more at Edinburgh in Scotland, were daily brought over hither, and sold here. Little their volumes, and low their prices, as being of bad paper, worse print, little margin, yet greater than the care of the corrector,—many most abominable *errata* being passed therein. Take one instance for all:—Jeremiah iv. 17, speaking of the whole commonwealth of Judah, instead of, 'Because she hath been REBELLIOUS against me, saith the Lord;' it is printed, (Edinburgh, 1637,) 'because she hath been RELIGIOUS against me, saith the Lord.' *Ch. Hist.* B. xi. S. viii. 29.

Missionary Difficulties

THOSE make short miles who, looking through a window, travel a day's journey in an instant; whilst wayfaring men must honestly pay for every step, and dearly earn it with their industry. It is facile for men, in their pleasing speculations, to project the conversion of a kingdom, and with themselves to discourse a Heathen nation into Christianity, whilst those must encounter many difficulties who really go about to perform it. *Id.* B. ii. S. i. 3.

* * *

CHRIST employed fishermen for the first preachers of the Gospel, as who, being acquainted with the water, and

mysteries

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mysteries of sailing, would with the more delight undertake long sea-voyages into foreign countries.

Ch. Hist. B. I. S. i. 8.

Building of Monasteries

THE PRODIGIOUS PRODIGALITY IN BUILDING AND ENDOWING OF ABBEYS

ANOTHER humour of the former age (to make one digression for all) still continued, and increased, venting itself in the fair foundations and stately structures of so many monasteries. So that one, beholding their greatness, (being cor-rivals with some towns in receipt and extent,) would admire that they could be so neat; and, considering their neatness, must wonder they could be so great; and, lastly, accounting their number, will, make all three the object of his amazement: especially, seeing many of these were founded in the Saxon heptarchy, when seven kings put together did spell but one in effect. So that it may seem a miracle, what invisible Indies those petty princes were masters of, building such structures which empoverish posterity to repair them. For although some of these monasteries were the fruit of many ages, long in ripening, at several times, by sundry persons, all whose parcels and additions met at last in some tolerable uniformity; yet most of them were begun and finished, absolute and entire, by one founder alone. And although we allow, that in those days artificers were procured, and materials purchased, at easy rates; yet, there being then scarceness of coin,—as a little money would then buy much ware, so much ware must first in exchange be given to provide

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provide that little money,—all things being audited proportionably, the wonder still remains as great as before. But here we see with what eagerness those designs are undertaken and pursued, which proceed from blind zeal; every finger being more than a hand to build, when they thought merit was annexed to their performances. O, with what might and main did they mount their walls, both day and night! erroneously conceiving, that their souls were advantaged to heaven, when taking the rise from the top of a steeple of their own erection! *Id.* B. ii. Cent. x. 40.

Hospitality of Monasteries

Some will object, that 'this their hospitality was but charity mistaken, promiscuously entertaining some who did not need, and more who did not deserve it. Yea, these abbeys did but maintain the poor which they made. For some vagrants, accounting the abbey-alms their own inheritance, served an apprenticeship, and afterwards wrought journey-work, to no other trade than begging; all whose children were, by their father's copy, made free of the same company. Yea, we may observe, that generally such places wherein the great abbeys were seated, (some few excepted, where clothing began when their convent did end,) swarm most with poor people at this day; as if beggary were entailed on them, and that laziness not as yet got out of their flesh, which so long since was bred in their bones.'

All this is confessed; yet, by their hospitality, many an honest and hungry soul had his bowels refreshed, which

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which otherwise would have been starved; and better it is, two drones should be fed, than one bee famished. We see the heavens themselves, in dispensing their rain, often water many stinking bogs and noisome lakes, which moisture is not needed by them, (yea, they the worse for it,) only because much good ground lies inseparably intermingled with them; so that, either the bad with the good must be watered, or the good with the bad must be parched away.

Ch. Hist. B. vi. *Abbeys*, S. ii. C. v. 11.

Spoliation of the Monasteries

But alas! those abbeys were now sold to such chapmen, in whom it was questionable whether their ignorance or avarice were greater; and they made havoc and destruction of all. As brokers in Long-lane, when they buy an old suit, buy the linings together with the outside; so it was conceived meet, that such as purchased the buildings of monasteries should, in the same grant, have the libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a ledger-book or terrier, by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged unto them, they cared not to preserve any other monuments. The covers of books, with curious brass bosses and clasps, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetousness. And so, many excellent authors, stripped out of their cases, were left naked, to be burned or thrown away. Thus Æsop's cock, casually lighting on a pearl, preferred a grain before it; yet he left it as he found it; and as he reaped

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reaped no profit by the pearl, it received no damage by him. Whereas these cruel cormorants, with their barbarous beaks and greedy claws, rent, tore, and tattered these inestimable pieces of antiquity. Who would think, that the Fathers should be condemned to such servile employment, as to be scavengers, to make clean the foulest sink in men's bodies? Yea, which is worse, many an ancient manuscript Bible cut in pieces, to cover filthy pamphlets! So that a case of diamond hath been made to keep dirt within it; yea, 'the Wise Men of Gotham,' bound up in 'the Wisdom of Solomon.' *Id.* B. vi. *Abbeys*, S. v. C. iii. 2.

The Suppression of the Monasteries

TEN thousand persons were by this Dissolution sent to seek their fortunes in the wide world. Some, indeed, had fathers or friends to receive them, others none at all. Some had twenty shillings given them at their ejection, and a new gown, which needed to be of strong cloth to last so long till they got another. Most were exposed to want. I see no such certainty for a comfortable livelihood as a lawful calling; for monkish profession was no possession, and many a young nun proved an old beggar. I pity not those who had hands and health to work; but, surely, the gray hairs of some impotent persons deserved compassion; and I am confident such, had they come to the doors of the charitable reader hereof, should have had a meal's meat and a night's lodging given unto them.

Id. B. vi. *Abbeys*, S. iii. 6.

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The First Monks

THEIR PIOUS EMPLOYMENT IN A SOLITARY LIFE

HERE they in the deserts hoped to find rocks, and stocks, yea, beasts themselves, more kind than men had been to them. What would hide and heat, cover and keep warm, served them for clothes, not placing (as their successors in after-ages) any holiness in their habit, folded up in the affected fashion thereof. As for their food, the grass was their cloth, the ground their table, herbs and roots their diet, wild fruits and berries their dainties, hunger their sauce, their nails their knives, their hands their cups, the next well their wine-cellar. But what their bill-of-fare wanted in cheer, it had in grace; their life being constantly spent in prayer, reading, musing, and such like pious employments. They turned solitariness itself into society; and, cleaving themselves asunder by the divine art of meditation, did make, of one, two or more opposing, answering, moderating in their own bosoms, and busy in themselves with variety of heavenly recreations. It would do one good even but to think of their goodness, and at the re-bound and second-hand to meditate on their meditations. For if ever poverty was to be envied, it was here. And I appeal to the moderate men of these times, whether in the height of these woful wars, they have not sometimes wished, (not out of passionate distemper, but serious recollection of themselves,) some such private place to retire unto, where, out of the noise of this clamorous world, they might have reposed themselves, and served God with more quiet.

Ch. Hist. B. vi. S. i. 2.

Monstrous

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Monstrous Opinions

IT is the happiness nature indulgeth to monsters, that they are all barren; whereas, on the contrary, monstrous positions are most procreative of the like, or worse than themselves. *Id.* B. x. S. iv. 8.

Mount Edgecumbe

I WRITE not this to tempt the reader to the breach of the tenth commandment, 'to covet his neighbour's house;' and one line in the prevention thereof. I have been credibly informed that the duke of Medina Sidonia, admiral of the Spanish fleet in the year eighty-eight, was so affected at the sight of this house (though but beholding it at a distance, from the sea) that he resolved it for his own possession in the partage of this kingdom (blame him not if choosing best for himself), which they pre-conquered in their hopes and expectation. But he had catched a great cold, had he had no other clothes to wear than those which were to be made of a skin of a bear not yet killed. *Worthies: Cornwall. Buildings.*

Mulberry Trees

MULBERRY trees (pardon a digression) were plentiful in Palestine. A tree which may pass for the emblem of prudence, slow in consultation, swift in execution, for it putteth forth its leaves the last of all trees, but then (as it is said) all in one night, as if, sensible of and ashamed for its former neglect, she endeavours to overtake other trees with her double diligence. Men feed on the fruit, silkworms

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silkworms on the leaves thereof; creatures contemptible in themselves, admirable in their qualities, appearing Proteus-like in sundry shapes in the same year, eggs, worms, flies, finishing for the most part yearly their life and work together. But we leave these mysteries to be discussed by naturalists, and will only add, that if the original of silk were well considered, gallants had small cause to be proud of gay clothes, for from worms it came, and to worms shall the wearers thereof return.

Pisgah Sight, B. ii. C. xiv. 23.

Music

MUSIC is nothing else but wild sounds civilised into time and tune. Such the extensiveness thereof, that it stoopeth as low as brute beasts, yet mounteth as high as angels: for horses will do more for a whistle than for a whip; and, by hearing their bells, gingle away their weariness. . . .

I confess there is a company of pretenders to music, who are commonly called *crowders*, and that justly too, because they *crowd* into the company of gentlemen both unsent for, and unwelcome; but these are no more a disgrace to the true professors of that faculty, than monkeys are a disparagement to mankind. . . .

Right glad I am, that when music was lately shut out of our churches, on what default of hers I dare not to inquire, it hath since been harboured and welcomed in the halls, parlours, and chambers, of the primest persons of this nation. Sure I am, it could not enter into my head, to surmise that music would have been so much discouraged by such who turned our kingdom into a Commonwealth,

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Commonwealth, seeing they prided themselves in the arms thereof, an impaled harp being moiety of the same. When it was asked, 'what made a good musician?' one answered, a good voice; another, that it was skill. But he said the truth, who said, it was encouragement. It was therefore my constant wish, that seeing most of our musicians were men of maturity, and arrived at their full age and skill, before these distracted times began, and seeing what the historian wrote in another sense is true here in our acceptation and application thereof, '*Res est unius seculi populus virorum;*' I say, I did constantly wish, that there might have been some seminary of youth set up, to be bred in the faculty of music, to supply succession, when this set of masters in that science had served their generation.

Yet although I missed of what I did then desire; yet, thanks be to God, I have lived to see music come into request, since our nation came into right tune, and begin to flourish in our churches and elsewhere; so that now no fear but we shall have a new generation skilful in that science, to succeed such whose age shall call upon them to pay their debt to nature. *Worthies*, C. x.

* * *

Expect not here from me a panegyric in praise of music (either in itself, or reference to God's service), though in Scripture appearing instrumental to qualify evil (1 Sam. xvi. 23), and invite good spirits (2 Kings iii. 15), heighten devotion both in men and angels; seeing charity and melody, loving and singing, is almost all we find expressed of celestial happiness. Nor can

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any truly tax music, as the children their mates in the market place—'We have piped, and ye have not danced; we have mourned, and ye have not lamented' (Mat. xi. 17); seeing such the sociableness of Music, it conforms itself to all companies, both in mirth and mourning, complying to improve that passion with which it finds the auditors most affected. In a word, it is an invention which might have beseemed a son of Seth to have been the father thereof; though better it was that Cain's great-grandchild should have the credit first to find it, than the world the unhappiness longer to have wanted it. *Pisgah Sight*, B. iii. C. ii. S. x. 2.

* * *

Music is sweetest near or over rivers, where the echo thereof is best rebounded by the water. Praise for pensiveness, thanks for tears, and blessing God over the floods of affliction, makes the most melodious music in the ear of Heaven.

Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience, ad fin.

Mysteries

How quickly are mysteries made blasphemies when unskilful hands meddle with them! *Ch. Hist.* B. ix.

Nails

These are the accommodators generally to unite solid bodies, and to make them to be continuous: yea, coin of gold and silver may be better spared in a commonwealth than nails; for commerce may be managed without

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without money by exchange of commodities, whereas hard bodies cannot be joined together so fast, and fast so soon and soundly, without the mediation of nails.

Such their service for firmness and expedition, that iron nails will fasten more in an hour than wooden pins in a day, because the latter must have their way made, whilst the former make way for themselves.

Worthies: Stafford. Manufactures.

Names

If it should chance, through the indiscretion of parents and god-fathers, that a bad name should be imposed on any, O let not 'folly' be 'with' them, because Nabal is their name; but in such a case let them strive to falsify, disprove, and confute their names. Otherwise, if they be good, they must answer them.

In the days of Queen Elizabeth, there was a royal ship called 'The Revenge,' which, having maintained a long fight against a fleet of Spaniards, (wherein eight hundred great shot were discharged against her,) was at last fain to yield: but no sooner were her men gone out of her, and two hundred fresh Spaniards come into her, but she suddenly sunk them and herself; and so 'The Revenge' was revenged. *Ruth*, i. 20.

Nature Puzzles

The foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men: so the disportings of the God of nature are more grave than the most serious employment of men: for such riddles are

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propounded on purpose to pose those profound shallow Rabbis, counting themselves of the cabinet, when they are scarcely of the common council, of Nature; so unable to read such riddles, that they cannot put the letters thereof together with any probability.

Worthies: Gloucester. Wonders.

The Royal Navy

QUEEN Elizabeth erected a navy royal (continued and increased by her successors) of the best ships Europe ever beheld. Indeed much is in the matter, the excellency of our English oak; more in the making, the cunning of our shipwrights; most in the manning, the courage of our seamen; and yet all to God's blessing, who so often hath crowned them with success. . . .

I am credibly informed, that that mystery of shipwrights, for some descents, hath been preserved successively in families, of whom the Petts about Chatham are of singular regard. 'Good success have they with their skill;' and carefully keep so precious a pearl, lest otherwise amongst many friends some foes attain unto it! It is no monopoly which concealeth that from common enemies, the concealing whereof is for the common good. May this mystery of ship-making in England never be lost, till this floating world be arrived at its own haven, the end and dissolution thereof! . . .

I confine this (the strength) only to the timber whereof they are made, our English oak being the best in the world. True it is (to our shame and sorrow be it written and read) the Dutch of late have built them some ships of English oak, which (through the negligence or

covetousness

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covetousness of some great ones) was bought here and transported hence. But the best is, that, as Bishop Latimer once said to one who had preached his sermon, that he had gotten his fiddlestick but not his rosin, so the Hollanders with our timber did not buy also our art of ship-building. . . .

Being to take our leave of these our wooden walls; first, I wish that they may conquer with their mast and sails, without their guns; that their very appearance may fright their foes into submission.

But if, in point of honour or safety, they be necessitated to engage, may they always keep the wind of the enemy, that their shot may fly with the greater force, and that the smoke of their powder, pursuing the foe, may drive him to fire at hazard! May their gunner be in all places of the ship, to see where he can make a shot with the best advantage; their carpenter and his crew be always in the hold, presently to drive in a wooden plug (whereas a shot comes betwixt wind and water), and to clap a board with tar and camel's hair upon it till the dispute be over; their chirurgeon and his assistants be in the same place (out of danger of shot) to dress the wounded; their captain be in the uppermost, the lieutenant in every part of the ship, to encourage the seamen: the chaplain at his devotions, to importune heaven for success, and encouraging all by his good counsel, if time will permit! *Worthies: Kent. Navy Royal.*

Needles

THE use hereof is right ancient, though sewing was before needles; for we read that our first parents made themselves

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themselves aprons by sewing fig-leaves together, either fastening them with some glutinous matter, or with some sharp thing joining them together.

A pin is a blind needle, a needle a pin with an eye. What nails do in solid, needles do in supple bodies, putting them together; only they remain not there formally, but virtually, in the thread which they leave behind them. It is the woman's pencil; and embroidery *vestis acu picta* is the master-piece thereof. I say embroidery, much used in former, neglected in our age, wherein modern gallants (affecting variety of suits) desire that their clothes should be known by them, and not, as our ancestors, they by their clothes, one suit of state serving them for several solemnities.

This industrious instrument, *needle*, quasi *ne idle* (as some will have it), maintaineth many millions. Yea, he who desireth a blessing on the plough and the needle (including that in the card and compass) comprehendeth most employments at home and abroad, by land and by sea.

All I will add is this: that the first fine Spanish needles in England were made in the reign of queen Mary, in Cheapside, by a negro; but such his envy, that he would teach his art to none; so that it died with him. More charitable was Elias Crowse, a German, who, coming over into England about the eighth of queen Elizabeth, first taught us the making of Spanish needles; and since we have taught ourselves the using of them.

Worthies: London. Manufactures.

Negroes

OUR captain counts the image of God, nevertheless, his image cut in ebony as if done in ivory; and in the blackest Moors he sees the representation of the King of heaven. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. xxi. 5.

Neutrality

JUST it is with God, that they should be strained in the twist, who stride so wide as to set their legs in two opposite sides. Indeed, an upright shoe may fit both feet, but never saw I a glove that would serve both hands. Neutrality in matters of an indifferent nature may fit well; but never suits well in important matters, of far different conditions. *Id.* B. iv. C. v. 14.

The Conception of Nonconformity

COME we now to the saddest difference that ever happened in the church of England, if we consider either the time, how long it continued, the eminent persons therein engaged, or the doleful effects thereby produced. It was about matters of conformity. Alas! that men should have less wisdom than locusts; which, when sent on God's errand, did 'not thrust one another,' whereas here such shoving and shouldering, and hoisting and heavings, and jostling and thronging, betwixt clergymen of the highest parts and places. For now nonconformity in the days of king Edward was conceived; which afterward, in the reign of queen Mary, (but beyond sea at Frankfort,) was born; which in the reign of queen Elizabeth was nursed and weaned; which, under king James,

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James, grew up a young youth, or tall stripling; but, towards the end of king Charles's reign, shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able, not only to cope with, but conquer, the hierarchy, its adversary.

Ch. Hist. B. vii. S. i. 23.

Three Sorts of Nonconformists

We must not forget, that this earnest contest was not about the calling, but clothes—not the vocation, but only about the vestments—of bishops. Whereupon the judicious reader will distinguish three ranks (or, if the word be better liked, three classes) of nonconformists, according to their several dates and designs:—

1. Ancient nonconformists, here in king Edward's days, who desired only to shake down the leaves of episcopacy, misliking only some garments about them.

2. Middle nonconformists, in the end of queen Elizabeth and beginning of king James, who struck at the branches thereof,—chancellors and officials, and other appendant limbs, which they endeavoured to remove.

3. Modern nonconformists, who did lay 'the axe to the root of the tree,' to cut down the function itself, as unlawful and anti-christian.

Thus after-ages still made new additions, as if it would be accounted idleness in them, if the strong and active legs of the sons and nephews should not go faster and farther, than the old and feeble feet of their fathers and grandfathers. *Id.* B. vii. S. i. 30.

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Numeration

AND indeed *number* cannot create a *new kind;* so that many trespasses cannot make a riot, many riots one treason, no more than many frogs can make one toad.

Worthies: Lond. Writers.

Nunneries

NUNNERIES were good she-schools, wherein the girls and maids of the neighbourhood were taught to read and work; and sometimes a little Latin was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such feminine foundations had still continued, provided no vow were obtruded upon them, (virginity is least kept where it is most constrained,) haply the weaker sex (beside the avoiding modern inconveniences) might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained. The sharpness of their wits, and suddenness of their conceits, which their enemies must allow unto them, might by education be improved into a judicious solidity, and that adorned with arts, which now they want, not because they cannot learn, but are not taught them. I say, if such feminine foundations were extant now-of-days, haply some virgins of highest birth would be glad of such places; and, I am sure, their fathers and elder brothers would not be sorry for the same.

Ch. Hist. B. vi. *Abbeys*, S. ii.

Oak

ENGLAND hath the best in the world, not for fineness, but firmness. Indeed outlandish oaks have a smaller grain,

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grain, and therefore fitter for wainscot; and whilst they make the best linings, our English oak is the substantial outside.

The best in England is in Dean Forest in this county, and most serviceable for shipping; so tough that, when it is dry, it is said to be as hard as iron. I have read, that, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the Spaniard sent an ambassador over purposely to get this wood destroyed (by private practices and cunning contrivances): who, had he effected his embassy, deserved a good reward at his return. It is suspicious, if not timely prevented, carelessness and waste will gratify the Spaniard with what then he could not accomplish.

Worthies: Gloucester. Natural Commodities.

Oaks diminishing

One asked, when beech would make the best timber? meaning what season of the year was best to cut it down for that purpose. It was answered, 'that beech would make the best timber when no oak was to be had;' a time, I assure you, which daily approacheth in our land.

Worthies: Bucks. Natural Commodities.

The Oak and the Acorn

Many see the oak when grown, (especially if a standard of remark), whilst few, if any, remember the acorn when it was set.

Worthies: C. xxi.

Omens of Death

It is reported by credible and believed by discreet persons, that there is a pool adjoining to Brereton, the seat of the honourable family of the Breretons, wherein bodies

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bodies of trees are seen to swim for certain days together before the death of any heir of that house. If so, let not all men look for so solemn summons to pay their debts to Nature. God grant us that grey hairs, dimness of sight, dulness of other senses, decay in general of strength, death of our dearest relations (especially when far younger than ourselves) before our eyes, &c. may serve us (instead of swimming logs), and be sanctified unto us, for sufficient and effectual monitors of our mortality!

Worthies: Cheshire. Wonders.

Non omnia possumus omnes

Now, many and fierce the conflicts of Friars against Mr. Latimer, especially after he had preached at St. Edward's the Sunday before Christmas, on the question of the priests to the Baptist, (parcel of the Gospel appointed for the day), John i. 19, *Tu quis es?* 'Who art thou?' It seems, he suited his sermon rather to the time than the text, thereby taking occasion to conform his discourse to the playing at cards, making the Heart triumph, and exhorting all to serve God in sincerity and truth, not in the glistering show of men's ceremonies, traditions, pardons, pilgrimages, vows, devotions, &c. Now, show me not the sermon, but show me the souls converted thereby. This blunt preaching was in those dark days admirably effectual, which would justly be ridiculous in our age. I remember in my time a country-minister preached at St. Mary's; his text, Rom. xii. 3, 'As God hath dealt to every man a measure of faith.' In a fond imitation of Latimer's card-sermon, he prosecuted the metaphor of *dealing*, that men should *play above-board*,

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above-board, that is, avoid all dissembling, not *pocket cards*, but improve their gifts and graces, *follow suit*, wear the surplice, and conform in ceremonies, &c. All produced nothing but laughter in the audience. Thus the same actions are, by several persons and times, made not the same actions, yea, differenced from commendable discretion to ridiculous absurdity. And thus he will make but bad music, who hath the instrument and fiddlestick, but none of the rosin, of Mr. Latimer. *Hist. Camb.* S. vi. 38.

Changing Opinions

SOME think it beneath a wise man to alter their opinion: a maxim both false and dangerous. We know what worthy Father wrote his own 'Retractation'; and it matters not though we go back from our word, so we go forward in the truth and a sound judgment.

Holy State, B. iv. C. v. 4.

Ordeal by Fire

EMMA, king Edward's mother, being suspected too familiar with Alwin bishop of Winchester, under the colour of devotion, put herself to be tried by ordeal; whereof this the manner: Nine plough-shares, glowing hot, were laid on the ground, one foot distant from another; the party suspected was to be brought blind-folded, and bare-footed to pass over them. If he chanced to step in the intervals, or on the hot iron unhurt, he was pronounced 'innocent,' otherwise condemned for an offender. An unjust law, wherein the triers had no precept, the tried no promise. Must innocence be ruined as often as malice would wrong it, if miracle would not

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not rescue it? This was not a way to try man, but tempt God: as just a trying by fire, as that of our modern witches by water. This trial queen Emma admirably underwent, not sensible of the plough-shares till past them, saying to such as led her, 'O, when shall I come to the place of my purgation?' *Ch. Hist.* B. ii. S. vi. 14.

Outside Appearance

Some people, handsome by nature, have wilfully deformed themselves.—Such as wear Bacchus's colours in their faces, arising not from having—but being—bad livers. Should God survey the faces of many men and women, he would not own and acknowledge them for those whom he created: many are so altered in colour, and some in sex, women to men and men to women in their monstrous fashions; so that they who behold them cannot, by the evidence of their apparel, give up their verdict of what sex they are. It is most safe to call the users of these hermaphroditical fashions, 'Francisses' and 'Philips,' names agreeing to both sexes.

Holy State, B. iii. C. xv. 4.

* * *

That the sable faces of blackamoors come not from the sun, but some other secret cause plainly appears, because *ebony* and *ivory*, I mean black and fair faces, are found in parallel climates. *Pisgah Sight, ad fin.*

Oxford and Cambridge

My prayers shall be, that each university may turn all envy into generous, yea, gracious, yea, glorious emulation; contending

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contending by laudable means, which shall surpass other in their serviceableness to God, the church, and commonwealth; that so, *commencing* in piety, and *proceeding* in learning, they may agree against their two general adversaries, ignorance and profaneness. May it never be said of them, what Naomi said of herself, that she was too old to bear sons! May they never be superannuated into barrenness, but, like the good trees in God's garden, 'they shall still bring forth in their old age, they shall be fat and flourishing.' *Ch. Hist.* B. ii. 59.

Oxford: the Colleges

Of the colleges, University is the oldest, Pembroke the youngest, Christ Church the greatest, Lincoln (by many reputed) the least, Magdalen the neatest, Wadham the most uniform, New College the strongest, and Jesus College (no fault but its unhappiness) the poorest; and if I knew which was the richest, I would not tell, seeing concealment in this kind is the safest. New College is most proper for southern, Exeter for western, Queen's for northern, Brasen-nose for north-western men, St. John's for Londoners, Jesus for Welshmen; and at other colleges almost indifferently for men of all countries. Merton hath been most famous for schoolmen, Corpus Christi (formerly called Trilingue Collegium) for linguists, Christ Church for poets, All-souls for orators, New College for civilians, Brasen-nose for disputants, Queen's College for metaphysicians, Exeter for a late series of Regius professors; Magdalen for ancient, St. John's for modern, prelates; and all eminent in some one kind or other. And if any of these colleges were transported into

into foreign parts, it would alter its kind (or degree at least) and presently of a college proceed an university, as equal to most, and superior to many, academies beyond the seas. *Worthies: Oxfordshire. Buildings.*

The Good Parent

He showeth them, in his own practice, what to follow and imitate; and, in others, what to shun and avoid.—For though 'the words of the wise be as nails fastened by the masters of the assemblies,' (Eccles. xii. 11,) yet, sure, their examples are the hammer to drive them in, to take the deeper hold. A father that whipped his son for swearing, and swore himself whilst he whipped him, did more harm by his example than good by his correction. . . .

He doth not give away his loaf to his children, and then come to them for a piece of bread.—He holds the reins (though loosely) in his own hands; and keeps, to reward duty, and punish undutifulness. Yet, on good occasion, for his children's advancement, he will depart from part of his means. Base is their nature who will not have their branches lopped, till their body be felled; and will let go none of their goods, as if it presaged their speedy death: whereas it doth not follow, that he that puts off his cloak must presently go to bed. *Holy State*, B. i. C. v. 1, 8.

Passions

Passions, like heavy bodies down steep hills, once in motion move themselves, and know no ground but the bottom. *Holy War*, B. i. C. xvii.

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The Pastorells

An Hungarian peasant, who is said to have been an apostate to Mahomet and well learned, gathered together many thousands of people, pretending they had intelligence from heaven to march to the Holy Land. These took on them the name and habit of *Pastorelli*, poor shepherds; in imitation belike (as the devil is God's ape) of those in the gospel, who were warned by angels in a vision to go to Bethlehem.

Being to shape their course into Palestine, they went into France; showing they had a vertigo in their heads, mistaking the west for the east; or else, that like vagabonds they were never out of their way.

The holy Lamb was their ensign, but their actions neither holy nor lamb-like. They pillaged and killed the poor Jews as they went (an unhappy nation, whose heads lie pat for every one's hands to hit, and their legs so stand in men's way that few can go by them without spurning at them); where they wanted Jews, they made Jews of Christians, especially if they were rich, using them with all cruelty. But at last near Bourdeaux threescore thousand of them were slain, and the rest dispersed. A rhymer of that age (or in courtesy call him a poet) made this epitaph on them:—

M semel, et bis C, L, I, conjungere disce;
Duxit pastorum sæva Megæra chorum.

Learn to put together well,
What M, C, C, L, I, do spell;
When some devilish fiend in France
Did teach the shepherds how to dance.

Holy War, B. iv. C. xxi.

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Peace and War

GENERALLY those who are best with their fingers are worst with their arms. *Holy War*, B. ii. C. xii.

Pins

A PIN passeth for that which is next to nothing, or (if you will) is the *terminus à quo* from which something doth begin, and proceed from a pin to a pound, &c. However it is considerable both as hurtful and useful; hurtful, if advantageously placed it may prove as mortal as a poignard, the life of the greatest man lying at the mercy of the meanest thing; useful, not only to fasten our ornaments, but fill up the chinks betwixt our clothes, lest wind and weather should shoot through them.

Many and very good of these are made in this county; a commodity not to be slighted, since the very dust that falls from them is found profitable. We commonly say that it is not beneath a proper person to stoop to take up a pin, until he be worth ten thousand pounds, according to the thrifty rule in Latin, *Qui negligit minima nunquam ditescet.* Such who admire that so many millions of pins, made, sold, used, and lost in England, should vanish away invisible, may rather wonder how so many that wear them (being no more than pins in the hands of their Maker) do decay, die, and slip down in the dust, in silence and obscurity. *Worthies: Yorks. Manufactures.*

Point of View

A MOTHER-IN-LAW'S sermon seldom takes well with an audience of daughter-in-laws. . . . No razor will cut a stony heart. *Holy State*, B. v. C. ii.

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Extemporary Prayers

In extemporary prayer, what men most admire God least regardeth. Namely, the volubility of the tongue. Herein a Tertullus may equal, yea exceed, Saint Paul himself, whose speech was but mean. O, it is the heart keeping time and tune with the voice which God listeneth unto. Otherwise the nimblest tongue tires, and loudest voice grows dumb before it comes half way to heaven. Make it, said God to Moses, in all things like the pattern in the mount. Only the conformity of the words with the mind, mounted up in heavenly thoughts, is acceptable to God. The gift of extemporary prayer, ready utterance, may be bestowed on a reprobate, but the grace thereof (religious affections) is only given to God's servants.

Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Prayers, 7.

Preferment

'But neither the best, nor the most painful and learned, get the best preferment. Sometimes men of the least—get livings of the best—worth; yea, such as are not worthy to be the curates to their curates, and *crassa ingenia* go away with *opima sacerdotia*.'

Thus it ever was, and will be. But is this dust only to be found in churches, and not in civil courts? Is merit every where else made the exact square of preferment? Or did ever any urge, that all offices should be made champaign for their profits, none higher than other? Such corruptions will ever be in the church, except there were a law, (ridiculous to be made, and impossible to be kept!) that men should be no-men;

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but that all patrons or people, in their election or presentations of ministers, should wholly divest themselves of by-respects of kindred, friendship, profit, affection, and merely choose for desert: and then should we have all things so well-ordered, such pastors and such people, the church in a manner would be triumphant whilst militant. Till then, though the best livings light not always on the ablest men, yet, as long as there be such preferments in the church, there are still encouragements for men to endeavour to excel; all hoping, and some happening, on advancement. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xxv. 8.

Prejudice

THOSE enterprises need a strong hand, which are thrown against the bias of people's hearts and consciences. *Id.* B. iv. C. xiv.

Presentation Copies

To conclude, should I present all with books, who courteously have conduced to my instruction, the whole impression would not suffice. But I remember the no less civil than politic invitation of Judah to the tribe of Simeon, 'Come up with me into my lot [to conquer the Canaanites], and I likewise will go with thee into thy lot.' If such who have lent me theirs, shall have occasion to borrow mine assistance, my pains, brains, and books, are no more mine than theirs to command; which, besides my prayers for them, and thanks to them, is all my ability in requital can perform.

Worthies. C. xxiii.

Different

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Different Prices

Now we must know, there be four several prices of vendible things: First, the price of the market, which ebbs and flows according to the plenty or scarcity of coin, commodities, and chapmen. Secondly, the price of friendship; which, perchance, is more giving than selling, and therefore not so proper at this time. Thirdly, the price of fancy; as twenty pounds, or more, for a dog or hawk, when no such inherent worth can naturally be in them, but by the buyer's and seller's fancy reflecting on them. Yet, I believe, the money may be lawfully taken: First, because the seller sometimes, on those terms, is as loath to forego it, as the buyer is willing to have it. And I know no standard herein, whereby men's affections may be measured. Secondly, it being a matter of pleasure, and men able and willing, let them pay for it: *Volenti non fit injuria.* Lastly, there is the price of cozenage; which our merchant from his heart detests and abhors. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. xvii. 4.

Pride

PRIDE is the greatest enemy to moderation.—This makes men stickle for their opinions, to make them fundamental. Proud men, having deeply studied some additional point in divinity, will strive to make the same necessary to salvation, to enhance the value of their own worth and pains; and it must be fundamental in religion, because it is fundamental to their reputation. Yea, as love doth descend, and men doat most on their grandchildren;

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grandchildren; so these are indulgent to the deductions of their deductions and consequential inferences to the seventh generation, making them all of the foundation, though scarce of the building, of religion. Ancient Fathers made 'the Creed,' *Symbolum*, the shot and total sum of faith. Since which, how many arrearages and after-reckonings have men brought us in? To which if we will not pay our belief, our souls must be arrested, without bail, upon pain of damnation. Next to pride, popular applause is the greatest foe moderation hath; and, sure, they who sail with that wind have their own vain-glory for their haven.

Id. B. iii. C. xx. 6.

The Profit lies in the using

THESE abbey-lands, though skittish mares to some, have given good milk to others: which is produced as an argument, that if they prove unsuccessful to any, it is the user's default, no inherency of a curse in the things themselves. But let one keep an exact register of lands, and mark their motions, how they ebb and flow betwixt buyers and sellers, and surely he will say with the poet, Οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ τύχης. And this is most sure; let land be held in ever so good a tenure, it will never be held by an unthrift.

Holy War, B. v. C. 7.

Propagandism

THE necessity of propagating the truth is error's plea to divulge her falsehoods. Men, as naturally they desire to know, so they desire what they know should be known.

Holy State, B. v. C. 107.

Bristol

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Bristol Proverb

'BRISTOL MILK'

THOUGH as many elephants are fed as cows grazed within the walls of this city, yet great plenty of this metaphorical milk, whereby *xeres* or *sherry sack* is intended. Some will have it called milk, because (whereas nurses give new-born babes in some places pap, in others water and sugar) such wine is the first moisture given infants in this city. It is also the entertainment of course, which the courteous Bristolians present to all strangers, when first visiting their city. *Worthies: Bristol. Proverbs.*

An Italian Proverb

IT is confessed that Wales affordeth plenty of barren places; (yielding the benefit of the best air); but the Italian humour of building hath not *affected*, not to say *infected*, the British nation—I say the Italian humour, who have a merry proverb, 'Let him that would be happy for a day, go to the barber; for a week, marry a wife; for a month, buy him a new horse; for a year, build him a new house; for all his life time, be an honest-man.' But it seems that the Welsh are not tempted to enjoy such short happiness for a year's continuance. *Id.: Wales. Buildings.*

A Welsh Proverb

'GIVE YOUR HORSE A WELSH BAIT'

IT seems it is the custom of the Welsh travellers, when they have climbed up a hill (whereof plenty in these parts),

parts), to rein their horses backward, and stand still a while, taking a *prospect* (or *respect* rather) of the country they have passed. This they call a bait; and, though a peck of oats would do the palfrey more good, such a stop doth (though not feed) refresh. Others call this a Scottish bait; and I believe the horses of both mountainous countries eat the same provender, out of the same manger, on the same occasion.

Id.: Wales. Proverbs.

Punishments of God

GOD'S punishments though they last sometimes long, yet always they end at last: and yet sometimes for the manifestations of his power, and trial of his children's patience, he suffers them to be brought into great extremities: Abraham's hand shall be heaved up to slay Isaac, before the Angel shall catch hold of it: Lazarus shall be three days dead, before Christ will raise him: the ship ready to sink before our Saviour will awake: Peter must be drencht in the water before our Saviour will keep him from drowning: St. Paul must be in the lion's mouth, before he shall be delivered out of it: the famine must last ten years, before God will give them bread.

Coll. Serm. Comment. Ruth, i. 6.

Puritan

WE must not forget, that Spalato (I am confident I am not mistaken therein) was the first, who, professing himself a protestant, used the word 'Puritan,' to signify the defenders of matters doctrinal in the English church. Formerly the word was only taken to denote such as dissented

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dissented from the hierarchy in discipline and church-government; which now was extended to brand such as were Anti-Arminians in their judgments. As Spalato first abused the word in this sense, so we could wish he had carried it away with him in his return to Rome. Whereas, now leaving the word behind him in this extensive signification thereof, it hath since by others been improved to asperse the most orthodox in doctrine, and religious in conversation. *Ch. Hist.* B. x. S. 6. 19.

The Pyramids

THE pyramids themselves, doting with age, have forgotten the names of their founders.

Holy State, B. iii. C. xiv. 6.

Qualificatives and Blanks left in this History

I APPROVE the plain country by-word, as containing much innocent simplicity therein:

'Almost and very nigh,
Have saved many a lie.'

So have the Latins their *propè*, *ferè*, *juxta*, *circiter*, *plus*, *minus*, used in matters of fact by the most authentic historians. Yea, we may observe, that the spirit of truth itself, where numbers and measures are concerned, in times, places, and persons, useth the aforesaid modificatives, save in such cases where some mystery contained in the number requireth a particular specification thereof.

None, therefore, can justly find fault with me, if on the like occasion I have secured myself with the same qualificatives. Indeed such historians who grind their intelligence

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intelligence to the powder of fraction, pretending to cleave the pin, do sometimes miss the butt. Thus one reporteth how in the persecution under Dioclesian there were neither under nor over, but just nine hundred ninety-nine martyrs. Yea, generally those that trade in such retail-ware, and deal in such small parcels, may by the ignorant be commended for their care, but condemned by the judicious for their ridiculous curiosity.

But such who will forgive the use of our foresaid qualificatives, as but limping and lameness, will perchance not pardon the many blanks which occur in this book, accounting them no better than our flat falling to the ground, in default of our industry for not seeking due information. But let such know, that those officers, who by their place are to find out persons inquired after, deserve neither to be blamed nor shamed, when, having used their best diligence, they return to the court a '*Non est inventus.*'

For my own part, I had rather my reader should arise hungry from my book, than surfeited therewith; rather uninformed than misinformed thereby; rather ignorant of what he desireth, than having a falsehood, or, at the best, a conjecture for a truth, obtruded upon him.

Indeed, I humbly conceive that vacuity, which is hateful in nature, may be helpful in history: for such an *hiatus* beggeth of posterity, to take pains to fill it up with a truth, if possible to be attained; whereas, had our bold adventure farced it up with a conjecture *intus existens prohibuerit extraneum* no room had been left for the endeavours of others. *Worthies*, C. xxi.

Some

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Some Questionable Expressions

SOME high-flown expressions often knock at the door of blasphemy, but yet not with any intention to enter in thereat; in which we are more to mind the sense than the sound of the words. *Ch. Hist.* B. iii. S. i. 31.

Quotations

FULLER.—Never had Herodotus given his nine books the names of the nine Muses, if such was his abstemiousness from poetry. Not one of them, which is ἀσύμβολος in this kind; and there are found in Clio, the first, no fewer than thirty verses of the oracles of Pythia. As those his books are fruitful, so his book of the Life of Homer hath a superfetation of them; so that if prose be the warp, verses are the woof thereof. Whereas the Animadvertor instances in Plutarch; open at the Life of Theseus, and we are presented with poetry therein.

But, grant no precedent in this nature in these authors; a more free genius acteth in modern than in ancient historians, manumissed from the servilities they were tied (or tied themselves) unto. The Animadvertor, like another Empson, endeavoureth to revive the penal statutes of history against me, (so to subject me to fine for the breach thereof,) which time in effect hath cancelled.

Qui scribit historicè, scribit miserè, if enslaved to all punctilios thereof. Let the Animadvertor keep those steel bodices for his own wearing, and not force them on me. What! not a plait or a ruffle, more or less, but all must be done in number, weight, and measure! according

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cording to historical criticism! This is not putting the book, but the author himself, into the press.

Tacitus himself (here instanced in) would be *tacitus* indeed, if all politic sentences and prudential results were deleted in him, being trespasses on the preciseness of history, confined to matter of fact. But well fare that historian who will go out of his own way, to direct his reader. *Appeal of Injured Innocence:* P. 1. *ans. Introduction.*

* * *

LET me mind the reader to re-flect his eye on our quotations, (the margin in such cases being as material as the text, as containing the authors,) and his judgment may, according to the credit or reference of the author alleged, believe, or abate from, the reputation of the report. Let me add, that, though it be a lie in the clock, it is but a falsehood in the hand of the dial when pointing at a wrong hour, if rightly following the direction of the wheel which moveth it. And the fault is not mine, if I truly cite what is false on the credit of another.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. vii. 22.

Rates and Taxes

A GRAVE divine in the west country (familiarly known unto me), conceiving himself over-taxed, repaired to one of the governors of the king's garrisons for to move for some mitigation.

The governor perceiving the satin cap of this divine to be torn, Fie, fie, said he, that a man of your quality should wear such a cap; the rats have gnawed it. Oh no, sir, answered he, the rates have gnawed it.

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The print or impression of the teeth of taxes is visible in the clothes of many men, yea, it hath corroded holes in many men's estates. Yea, as Hatto archbishop of Mentz is reported to have been eaten up by rats, so the vermin of taxes, if continuing, is likely to devour our nation. *Good Thoughts: Mixt Contempl. on Better Times*, 14.

Of Recreations

RECREATIONS is a second creation, when weariness hath almost annihilated one's spirits. It is the breathing of the soul, which otherwise would be stifled with continual business. We may trespass in them, if using such as are forbidden by the—lawyer, as against the statutes—physician, as against health—divine, as against conscience.

Spill not the morning (the quintessence of the day!) in recreations.—For sleep itself is a recreation. Add not, therefore, sauce to sauce; and *he* cannot properly have any title to be refreshed, *who* was not first faint. Pastime, like wine, is poison in the morning. It is then good husbandry to sow the head, which hath lain fallow all night, with some serious work. Chiefly, intrench not on the Lord's day to use unlawful sports; this were to spare thine own flock, and to shear God's lamb.

Take heed of boisterous and over-violent exercises. —Ringing oft-times hath made good music on the bells, and put men's bodies out of tune; so that, by over-heating themselves, they have rung their own passing-bell.

Refresh that part of thyself which is most wearied.—If thy life be sedentary, exercise thy body; if stirring

and

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and active, recreate thy mind. But take heed of cozening thy mind, in setting it to do a double task, under pretence of giving it a play-day, as in the labyrinth of chess, and other tedious and studious games. . . .

Choke not thy soul with immoderate pouring-in the cordial of pleasures. The creation lasted but six days of the first week. Profane they whose recreation lasts seven days of every week. Rather abridge thyself of thy lawful liberty herein: it being a wary rule which St. Gregory gives us: *Solus in illicitis non cadit, qui se aliquando et a licitis cautè restringit*: and then recreations shall both strengthen labour, and sweeten rest; and we may expect God's blessing and protection on us in following them, as well as in doing our work. For he that saith grace for his meat, in it prays also to God to bless the sauce unto him. As for those that will not take lawful pleasure, I am afraid they will take unlawful pleasure, and, by lacing themselves too hard, grow awry on one side. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xiii. 1, 2, 4. 6, 11.

Reformation

A PERFECT reformation of any Church in this world may be desired, but not hoped for. Let Xenophon's Cyrus be King in Plato's Commonwealth, and bachelors' wives breed maids' children in More's Utopia, whilst roses grow in their gardens without prickles, as St. Basil held they did before the fall of Adam.

These fancies are pleasing and plausible, but the performance thereof unfeasable: and so is the perfect reformation of a church in this world difficult to be described, and impossible to be practised. For, besides that

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that Satan will do his best, or rather his worst, to undoe it, man in this life is not capable of such perfection. Look not to find that in man out of Paradise, which was not found in man in Paradise, continuance in an holy estate. Martin Luther was wont to say he never knew good order in the Church last after fifteen years in the purity thereof; yea, the more perfect the reformation is, the less time it is likely to last. Man's mind being in constant motion, when it cannot ascend higher, will not stand still, but it must decline.

I speak not this to dishearten men from endeavouring a perfect reformation, but to keep them from being disheartened, when they see the same cannot be exactly observed. *Collected Serm.: On Reformation.*

* * *

'AN imperfect Church.' I said it, and will say it again: It was a truth before your cradle was made, and will be one after your coffin is rotten.

Id.: Truth maintained.

The Best Religion

IF that religion were surely the best which is of the greatest latitude and extent, surveyors of land were fitter than divines to judge of the best religion.

Holy War, B. iv. C. 6.

The Measure of Remorse

GENERAL punishments must have general prayer and humiliation; otherwise the plaster will be too narrow for the sore. *Notes on Jonah*, C. i. 1.

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Renouncing the World

About this time it grew fashionable with kings and queens in England to renounce the world, and turn monks and nuns, commonly in convents of their own foundation. Surely, it is not only lawful, but commendable, for men to leave the world before it leaveth them, by 'being crucified thereunto, and using it as if they used it not.' But let others dispute, whether this properly be renouncing the world,—for Christians to bury their parts and persons in a cloister, which, put forth to the bank, would turn to good account for church and commonwealth. David, I dare say, as holy a man as any of these, lived a king, and died a king. The swaying of his sceptre did not hinder the tuning of his harp; his dignity being no impediment to his devotion. And whilst these kings, turning monks, pretended to go out of the world, a world of spiritual pride and superstition went into them, if (as it is too, too suspicious) they had a high opinion to merit heaven thereby.

Ch. Hist. B. ii. Cent. viii. 12.

Reticence

Sure I am, such who are 'peaceable and faithful in Israel,' may nevertheless be 'mourners in Zion,' and grieve at what they cannot mend, but must endure. This also I know, that that spoke in the wheel which creaketh most doth not bear the greatest burden in the cart. The greatest complainers are not always the greatest sufferers; whilst as much, yea, more, sincere sorrow may be managed in secret silence, than with querulous and clamorous obstreperousness; and such,

who

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who will neither print nor preach satires on the times, may make elegies on them in their own souls.

Appeal of Injured Innocence, P. 1. C. 14.

* * *

He knows little, who will tell his wife all he knows.

Holy State, B. i. C. iii. 7.

A Retort

Dr. Heylin.—How wise the rest were, I am not able to say. But certainly our author showed himself 'no wiser than Waltham's calf, who ran nine miles to suck a bull, and came home athirst,' as the proverb saith. His running unto Oxford, which cost him as much in seventeen weeks, as he had spent in Cambridge in seventeen years, was but a second sally to the first knight-errantry.

Fuller.—I can patiently comport with the Animadvertor's *jeers*; which I behold as so many frogs, that it is pretty and pleasing to see them hop and skip about, having not much harm in them. But I cannot abide his *railings*; which are like to toads, swelling with venom within them. Any one may rail who is bred but in Billingsgate-College: and I am sorry to hear such language from the Animadvertor, a Doctor in Divinity; seeing railing is as much *beneath* a Doctor, as against Divinity.

When Dr. Turner, a physician sufficiently known, gave the lie (at the earl of Pembroke's table) to the earl of Carnarvon: 'I will take the lie from you;' replied the earl, 'but I will never take physic from you.' If such

railing

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railing be consistent with the Doctor's Divinity, this once I will take *the calf*, but never learn Divinity from him.

Two things comfort me under his reviling. First. That no worse man than David himself complained, that he became 'a PROVERB to his enemies,' Psalm lxix. 2. Secondly. Though *a calf* be a contemptible creature, passing for the emblem, not (with the dove) of simplicity, but of plain silliness; yet is it a clean one, and accepted of God for sacrifice, Heb. ix. 19. Whereas the snarling dog (though a creature of far more cunning and sagacity) was so odious and unclean, that by a peculiar law it was provided, that 'the price of a dog should not be brought into the house of God,' Deut. xxiii. 18.

App. Inj. Inn. Pt. iii. B. xi. 268.

Another

ONCE king James in an afternoon was praising the plentiful provision of England, especially for flesh and fowl; adding, the like not to be had in all Spain what one county here did afford. 'Yea, but my master,' quoth Gondemar, there present, 'hath the gold and silver in the East and West Indies.' 'And I, by my saul,' saith the king, 'have much ado to keep my men from taking it away from him.' To which the don's Spanish gravity returned silence. *Ch. Hist.* B. x. S. vii. 32.

* * *

'*It is pity they are not better situated: I could always wish to see a Diamond set in gold.*' (Examiner.)

I CANNOT blame you especially if the Diamond be their own. But what mean you by this expression?

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Would you have had the Truths in my sermon to have been set in the gold of rich and glittering language? Truly I could not go to the cost thereof, especially in so short warning wherein the sermon was made. However, a diamond is a diamond though set in horn, whereby the lustre thereof may be somewhat dimmed, but the worth thereof no whit diminished. But in one respect I must confess these truths were ill selected: that they stood too near to a captious reader who took causeless exception to them. *Select: Serm. Truth Maintained.*

Reward of Honest Effort

Such sums attained by their own industry, though small in bulk, were great in blessing, a Divine benediction being always invisibly breathed on painful and lawful diligence. Thus the servant employed in making and blowing of the fire, (though sent away thence as soon as it burneth clear), oft-times getteth by his pains a more kindly and continuing heat, than the master himself, who sitteth down by the same; and thus persons industriously occupying themselves, thrive better on a little of their own honest getting, than lazy heirs on the large revenues left unto them. *Ch. Hist.* B. viii. S. iii. 28.

Rich Kindred: Vain Hopes

So soon may men's expectations be frustrated, who depend on rich kindred. Yea, I have seen the twine-thread of a cordial friend hold, when the cable-rope of a rich kinsman hath broken.

Let those therefore be thankful to God, to whom God hath given means to be maintained of themselves, without dependence

dependence on their kindred. Better it is to be the weakest of substances, to subsist of themselves, than to be the bravest accidents, to be maintained by another.

Ruth, ii. 20.

King Richard's Ransom and the Chalices

AT last he was ransomed for a hundred and forty thousand marks, collen weight. A sum so vast in that age, before the Indies had overflowed all Europe with their gold and silver, that to raise it in England they were forced to sell their church plate, to their very chalices. Whereupon out of most deep divinity it was concluded, that they should not celebrate the sacrament in glass, for the brittleness of it; nor in wood, for the sponginess of it, which would suck up the blood; nor in alchymy, because it was subject to rusting; nor in copper, because that would provoke vomiting; but in chalices of latten, which belike was a metal without exception. And such were used in England for some hundred years after, until at last John Stafford archbishop of Canterbury, when the land was more replenished with silver, inknotteth that priest in the greater excommunication that should consecrate *poculum stanneum*.

Holy War, B. iii. C. xiii.

The Rickets

THERE is a disease of infants (and an infant disease, having scarcely as yet gotten a proper name in Latin) called the rickets; wherein the head waxeth too great, whilst the legs and lower parts wane too little. A woman in the west hath happily healed many, by cauterizing

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the vein behind the ear. How proper the remedy for the malady I engage not, experience ofttimes outdoing art, whilst we behold the cure easily effected, and the natural cause thereof hardly assigned.

Have not many nowadays the same sickness in their souls? their heads swelling to a vast proportion and they wonderfully enabled with knowledge to discourse? But, alas, how little their legs, poor their practice, and lazy their walking in a godly conversation! Shall I say that such may be cured by searing the vein in their head, not to hurt their hearing, but hinder the itching of their ears?

Indeed his tongue deserves to be burnt that talks of searing the ears of others; for faith cometh by hearing. But I would have men not to hear few sermons, but hear more in hearing fewer sermons. Less preaching better heard (reader, lay the emphasis not on the word *less*, but on the word *better*), would make a wiser and stronger Christian, digesting the word from his heart to practise it in his conversation.

Good Thoughts in Worse Times, Med. 19.

A Famous Road

HERE let us hold a while, and desiring to please all palates, let us temper the harshness of old matters with the mixture of a modern passage. If the reader should ever travel this way from Damascus to Jerusalem, and so into Egypt, he may repose himself for a night in the cave, east of the bridge, on the other side Jordan. A cave is a public building erected by some devout Turk in nature of an inn, for the benefit of travellers,

of

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of more or less receipt and conveniency, according to the bounty or fancy of the founder. But here the guest must be his own host to entertain himself, seeing generally nothing but a bare lodging and water is provided for him. And though we pity the reader's bad lodging this night, where (if not bringing better accommodations with him) he and his camel must be bed-fellows in straw; yet we promise him next day a pleasant way and handsome entertainment. For about seven miles off he shall pass by Cave Joseph, where a well will be showed him full of water, and adorned with marble pillars, which common tradition avoucheth to be the pit wherein Joseph was put, and a learned friar very zealously sticketh for the truth thereof, though indeed the story is confuted both by the distance and nature of the place. For it is sixty miles from Dothan, near Shechem, where Joseph's brethren kept their sheep. Besides, that pit had no moisture in it (save what fell from the eyes of Joseph), whereas this is full of water, so that Joseph's dreams had been but dreams if put therein. But it is as good as a bait to tired travellers (whose credulity is swifter than the camels they ride on) to be refreshed in the way with such relations. Some twelve miles off, the reader may lodge in a convenient cave called Minium by the Moors, but by the Turks Missia: and if early up next morning may, going south-westward, before noon enter the tribe of Zebulun, where we may in due time overtake him, and hereafter give him larger direction for his travel.

Pisgah Sight, B. ii. C. iv. 13.

Why

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Why the Church of Rome was esteemed First and Chiefest

ANCIENTLY in the primitive time the church of Rome was esteemed the first and chiefest of all others, but without any jurisdiction above them. Because that was the imperial city and queen of the world, therefore the church therein was highest in account; as the candle which is in the fairest candlestick is always set above the rest (though otherwise equal unto it in light) at the upper end of the table. *Holy War*, B. iv. C. iv.

Sabbatarianism in Queen Elizabeth's Time

IT is almost incredible how taking this doctrine was, partly because of its own purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the Lord's day, especially in corporations, began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sports as yet by statute permitted; yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein. On this day the stoutest fencer laid down the buckler; the most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting beside the mark; May-games and morris-dances grew out of request; and good reason that bells should be silenced from gingling about men's legs, if their very ringing in steeples were adjudged unlawful. Some of them were ashamed of their former pleasures, like children, which, grown bigger, blush themselves out of their rattles and whistles. Others forbore them for fear of their superiors; and many left them off out of a politic

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politic compliance, lest otherwise they should be accounted licentious.

Yet learned men were much divided in their judgments about these sabbatarian doctrines. Some embraced them as ancient truths consonant to Scripture, long disused and neglected, now seasonably revived for the increase of piety. Others conceived them grounded on a wrong bottom; but, because they tended to the manifest advance of religion, it was pity to oppose them, seeing none have just reason to complain, being deceived into their own good. But a third sort flatly fell out with these positions, as galling men's necks with a Jewish yoke, against the liberty of Christians; that Christ, as Lord of the sabbath, had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful recreations; that this doctrine put an unequal lustre on the Sunday on set purpose to eclipse all other holy-days, to the derogation of the authority of the church; that this strict observance was set up out of faction to be a character of difference, to brand all for libertines who did not entertain it.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. viii. 20–21.

Salisbury Cathedral

The Buildings

The Cathedral of Salisbury (dedicated to the blessed Virgin) is paramount in this kind, wherein the doors and chapels equal the months, the windows the days, the pillars and pillarets of fusile marble (an ancient art now shrewdly suspected to be lost), the hours of the year; so that all Europe affords not such an almanac of architecture.

Once

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Once walking in this church (whereof then I was prebendary) I met a countryman wondering at the structure thereof. 'I once,' said he to me, 'admired that there could be a church that should have so many pillars as there be hours in the year; and now I admire more, that there should be so many hours in the year as I see pillars in this church.' *Worthies: Wilts. Buildings.*

Salmon

A DAINTY and wholesome fish, and a double riddle in Nature: first, for its invisible feeding, no man alive having ever found any meat in the maw thereof. Secondly, for its strange leaping (or flying rather), so that some will have them termed salmons, *à saliendo.* Being both bow and arrow, it will shoot itself out of the water an incredible height and length. I might add the admirable growth thereof, if true what is confidently affirmed, that it increaseth from a spawn to a full-grown fish within the compass of a year. Plenty of these in this county, though not in such abundance as in Scotland, where servants (they say) indent with their masters, not to be fed therewith above thrice a week. *Id.: Hereford. Natural Commodities.*

Salt

I BEHELD England as a long well-furnished table, and account three principal salt-cellars set at a distance thereon. Worcestershire, I fancy the trencher salt, both because it is not so much in quantity (though very considerable), and because it is whiter, finer, and heavier, than any other. Cheshire, I conceive, deserveth to be reputed

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reputed the grand salt-cellar, placed somewhat beneath the middle; whilst the third is the salt of Newcastle, set far north, at the lower end of the table, for the use of those who otherwise cannot conveniently reach to the former. The usefulness of this not-duly-valued blessing may be concluded from the Latin word *salarium*, so usual in ancient and modern authors, which importeth the entertainment or wages of soldiers, anciently paid chiefly (if not only) in victuals, and taketh its name, by a *synecdoche*, from *sal*, or *salt*, as of all things most absolutely needful; without which condiment nothing can be wholesome nutriment.

Id.: Worcester. Natural Commodities.

The Good Schoolmaster

THERE is scarce any profession in the commonwealth more necessary, which is so slightly performed. The reasons whereof I conceive to be these: First, young scholars make this calling their refuge; yea, perchance, before they have taken any degree in the University, commence schoolmasters in the country; as if nothing else were required to set up this profession, but only a rod and a ferula. Secondly, others, who are able, use it only as a passage to better preferment; to patch the rents in their present fortune, till they can provide a new one, and betake themselves to some more gainful calling. Thirdly, they are disheartened from doing their best, with the miserable reward which in some places they receive,—being masters to their children, and slaves to their parents. Fourthly, being grown rich, they grow negligent; and

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and scorn to touch the school, but by the proxy of an usher. But see how well our schoolmaster behaves himself.

His genius inclines him with delight to his profession. —Some men had as lieve be school-boys as school-masters, —to be tied to the school, as COOPER'S 'Dictionary' and SCAPULA'S 'Lexicon' are chained to the desk therein; and, though great scholars, and skilful in other arts, are bunglers in this. But God of his goodness hath fitted several men for several callings, that the necessity of church and state, in all conditions, may be provided for. So that he who beholds the fabric thereof may say: 'God hewed out this stone, and appointed it to lie in this very place; for it would fit none other so well, and here it doth most excellent.' And thus God mouldeth some for a schoolmaster's life; undertaking it with desire and delight, and discharging it with dexterity and happy success.

He studieth his scholars' natures as carefully as they their books.—And ranks their dispositions into several forms. And though it may seem difficult for him in a great school to descend to all particulars, yet experienced schoolmasters may quickly make a grammar of boys' natures, and reduce them all (saving some few exceptions) to these general rules :—

1. Those that are ingenious and industrious.—The conjunction of two such planets in a youth presage much good unto him. To such a lad a frown may be a whipping, and a whipping a death; yea, where their master whips them once, shame whips them all the week after. Such natures he useth with all gentleness.

2. Those that are ingenious and idle.—These think, with

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with the hare in the fable, that, running with snails, (so they count the rest of their school-fellows), they shall come soon enough to the post, though sleeping a good while before their starting. O! a good rod would finely take them napping!

3. Those that are dull and diligent.—Wines,—the stronger they be, the more lees they have when they are new. Many boys are muddy-headed till they be clarified with age; and such afterwards prove the best. Bristol diamonds are both bright, and squared, and pointed by nature, and yet are soft and worthless; whereas orient ones, in India, are rough and rugged naturally. Hard, rugged, and dull natures of youth acquit themselves afterwards the jewels of the country; and, therefore, their dulness at first is to be borne with, if they be diligent. That schoolmaster deserves to be beaten himself, who beats nature in a boy for a fault. And I question whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts which are naturally sluggish, rise one minute before the hour nature hath appointed.

4. Those that are invincibly dull and negligent also.—Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former. All the whetting in the world can never set a razor's edge on that which has no steel in it. Such boys he consigneth over to other professions. Shipwrights and boat-makers will choose those crooked pieces of timber which other carpenters refuse. Those may make excellent merchants and mechanics who will not serve for scholars.

He is able, diligent, and methodical in his teaching.—Not leading them rather in a circle than forwards. He

minces

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minces his precepts, for children to swallow; hanging clogs on the nimbleness of his own soul, that his scholars may go along with him.

He is, and will be known to be, an absolute monarch in his school.—If cockering mothers proffer him money, to purchase their sons an exemption from his rod, (to live, as it were, in a peculiar, out of their master's jurisdiction,) with disdain he refuseth it, and scorns the late custom in some places of commuting whipping into money, and ransoming boys from the rod at a set price. If he hath a stubborn youth, correction-proof, he debaseth not his authority by contesting with him, but fairly (if he can) puts him away, before his obstinacy hath infected others.

He is moderate in inflicting deserved correction.—Many a schoolmaster better answereth the name παιδοτρίβης than παιδαγωγός, rather 'tearing his scholars' flesh with whipping, than giving them good education.' No wonder if his scholars hate the Muses, being presented unto them in the shapes of fiends and furies. . . .

To conclude: let this, amongst other motives, make schoolmasters careful in their place, that the eminencies of their scholars have commended the memories of their schoolmasters to posterity, who, otherwise in obscurity, had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. Bond, in Lancashire, but for the breeding of learned Ascham his scholar? or of Hartgrave, in Burnley school, in the same county, but because he was the first [who] did teach worthy Dr. Whitaker. Nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaster for any thing so much as for his scholar, that gulf of learning, bishop Andrews. This made

made the Athenians, the day before the great feast of Theseus their founder, to sacrifice a ram to the memory of Conidas, his schoolmaster, that first instructed him.

Holy State, B. ii. C. xvi.

Bad Latin of the Schoolmen

THEIR Latin is generally barbarous, counting any thing eloquent that is expressive; going the nearest way to speak their own notions, though sometimes trespassing on grammar, abusing, if not breaking, Priscian's head therein. Some impute this their bald and threadbare language to a design that no vermin of equivocation should be hid under the nap of their words; whilst others ascribe it to their want of change, and their poverty in learning, to procure better expressions.

Ch. Hist. B. iii. Cent xiv. 25.

Scruples of Conscience

SOME have sluices in their consciences, and can keep them open, or shut them as occasion required.

Holy War, B. ii. C. xxviii.

Sea and Land Service compared

AND surely, generally sea-fights are more bloody than those on the land, especially since guns came up, whose shot betwixt wind and water (like those wounds so often mentioned in the scripture under the fifth rib), is commonly observed mortal. Yea, far harder it is for a ship, when arrested and engaged in a battle, to clear itself, than for soldiers by land to save themselves by flight

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flight. Here neither his own two nor his horse's four legs can bestead any; but like accidents they must perish with their subjects, and sink with their ship.

And then why is a sea victory less honour, being more danger, than one achieved by land? Is it because sea-service is not so general, nor so full of varieties, and the mysteries thereof sooner learned? Or because in seafights fortune may seem to be a deeper sharer, and valour not so much interested? Whatsoever it is, the laurel purchased on land hath a more lively verdure than that which is got at sea. *Holy War*, B. iv. C. xxiv.

The Sea-captain

He daily sees, and duly considers, God's wonders in the deep.—Tell me, ye naturalists, Who sounded the first march and retreat to the tide, 'Hither shalt thou come, and no further'? Why doth not the water recover his right over the earth, being higher in nature? Whence came the salt, and who first boiled it, which made so much brine? When the winds are not only wild in a storm, but even stark-mad in an hurricane, who is it that restores them again to their wits, and brings them asleep in a calm? Who made the mighty whales, which swim in a sea of water, and have a sea of oil swimming in them? Who first taught the water to imitate the creatures on land? so that the sea is the stable of horse-fishes, the stall of kine-fishes, the sty of hog-fishes, the kennel of dog-fishes, and, in all things, the sea the ape of the land! Whence grows the amber-gris in the sea? which is not so hard to find where it is, as to know what it is. Was not God the first shipwright?

and

and all vessels on the water descended from the loins (or ribs rather) of Noah's ark; or else who durst be so bold, with a few crooked boards nailed together, a stick standing upright, and a rag tied to it, to adventure into the ocean? What loadstone first touched the loadstone? Or how first fell it in love with the North, rather affecting that cold climate than the pleasant East, or fruitful South, or West? How comes that stone to know more than men, and find the way to the land in a mist? In most of these, men take sanctuary at *occulta qualitas;* and complain that the room is dark, when their eyes are blind. Indeed, they are God's wonders; and that seaman the greatest wonder of all for his blockishness, who, seeing them daily, neither takes notice of them, admires at them, nor is thankful for them.

Holy State, B. ii. C. xxi. 8.

Secrecy

SECRECY and Celerity are the two wheels of great actions.

Id. B. v. C. ix.

Security

SECURITY is the mother of danger and the grand mother of destruction.

Id. B. v. C. xviii. 1.

Severity

SEVERITY hot in the 4th degree, is little better than poison and becometh cruelty itself.

Holy War, B. i. C. xxiv.

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Similes

INDEED, reasons are the pillars of the fabric of a sermon: but similitudes are the windows which give the best lights. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. ix. 11.

Simony

READER, pardon a digression. I am confident there is one, and but one, sin frequent in the former age, both with clergy and laity, which in our days our land is not guilty of, and may find many compurgators of her innocence therein; I mean the sin of simony: seeing none in our age will give anything for church-livings; partly because the persons presented thereunto have no assurance to keep them, partly because of the uncertainty of tithes for their maintenance. But whether this our age hath not added in sacrilege what it wanteth in simony, is above my place to discuss, and more above my power to decide. *Worthies: Oxfordshire. Prelates.*

Slow and Sure

GOD'S work must not be done lazily, but leisurely: haste maketh waste in this kind. In reformations of great importance, the violent driving in of the nail will either break the head, or bow the point thereof, or rive and split that which should be fastened therewith.

That may insensibly be screwed which cannot suddenly be knocked into people. Fair and softly goeth far; but, alas! we have too many fiery spirits, who, with Jehu, drive on so furiously they will overturn all in church

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church and state, if their fierceness be not seasonably retrenched.

Good Thoughts: Mixt Contempl. on Better Times, P. II. 34.

Small Beginnings

SUCH who are ashamed of contemptible beginnings will never arrive at considerable endings. Yea, the greatest giant was (though never a dwarf) once an infant; and the longest line commenced from a little point at the first. *Worthies: Cumberland. The Farewell.*

Blessings of Good Society

How many general benefits do the very tares enjoy, because inseparably mingled with the wheat in the field of this world! *Pisgah Sight*, B. iv. C. ii. 21.

Someone else's Fault

SHOULD God scourge this land with famine, or any other general punishment, the courtiers would impute the cause thereof to the covetousness of the citizens; the citizens to the prodigality of the courtiers: the rich to the unthankfulness, discontented murmuring of the poor; the poor to the hard-heartedness of the rich: the laity to the clergy's want of preaching; the clergy to the laity's want of practising. Every one would post the fault from himself, and be inquisitive, with these mariners, 'for whose fault this evil was upon' them.

Notes on Jonah, i. 7.

Speed's Map of Carnarvon

THE map of this county (as also of Denby and Flintshire) in Mr. Speed is not divided (as other shires

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in England and Wales) with pricks into their several hundreds, which would have much conduced to the completing thereof, whereof he rendereth this reason, That he could not procure the same (though promised him) out of the sheriff's books; fearing lest the riches of their shire should be further sought into by revealing such particulars. He addeth moreover, 'This I have observed in all my survey, that where least is to be had the greatest fears are possessed.' I would advise these counties hereafter to deny no small civility to a painful author, holding a pen in his hand, for fear a drop of his ink fall upon them; for, though juice of lemon will fetch such spots out of linen, when once printed in a book they are not so easily got out, but remain to posterity.

Worthies: Carnarvon. Farewell.

Having done all—Stand

He that intends to meet with one in a great fair, and knows not where he is, may sooner find him by standing still in some principal place there, than by traversing it up and down. Take thy stand on some good ground in religion, and keep thy station in a fixed posture, never hunting after the times to follow them; and, a hundred to one, they will come to thee once in thy life-time.

Holy State, B. iii. C. xix. 12.

Standing Still

A College in Cambridge, much beautified with additional buildings, sent a messenger to a Doctor, no less ingenious than bountiful, who had been a great, and promised to be a greater, benefactor unto them, requesting

ing him to remember them, 'or else their College must even *stand still*,' meaning they must desist from going farther in their intended fabric. To whom the Doctor answered, 'May your College, and all the Colleges in both Universities, *stand* STILL!' In the charitable meaning whereof all good men will concur. . . .

History of Cambridge, S. ix. 49.

Storks

SOME have confidently reported, that storks will not live, save in a republic; who may with as much truth affirm, that an eagle, the sovereign of birds, will not breed in a commonwealth. Not to say that storks were named in the monarchy of Adam, preserved in the ark in the monarchy of Noah. Jeremiah, who lived in the kingdom of Judah, upbraided the ignorance of the people therein—'Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times' (Jer. viii. 7). Which birds, had they known their times, and the Jews not known the birds, as frequent and familiar with them, both the prophet's illustration had been obscure, and exprobration improper for his present purpose.

Pisgah Sight, B. iii. C. xiv. 29.

Surgeons

THUS, wishing unto them the three requisites for their practice, an eagle's eye, a lady's hand, and a lion's heart, I leave them, and proceed. *Worthies*, Chap. ix.

Suspicion

GENERALLY, suspiciousness is as great an enemy to wisdom, as too much credulity; it doing oftentimes as

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hurtful wrong to friends, as the other doth receive wrongful hurt from dissemblers. *Holy War*, B. v. C. xii.

Tall Men

OFTEN the cockloft is empty in those whom nature hath built many stories high. *Holy State*, B. v. C. xviii. 19.

Power of Teaching

HE had an admirable faculty in teaching youth; for every boy can teach a man, whereas he must be a man who can teach a boy. It is easy to inform them who are able to understand; but it must be a master-piece of industry and discretion to descend to the capacity of children. *Worthies: Yorks. Writers.*

The Templars

THERE is scarce a harder question in later history than this: whether the Templars justly or unjustly were condemned to suffer. On the one side it is dangerous to affirm they were innocent, because condemned by the pope, infallible in matters of such consequence. This bugbear affrighteth many, and maketh their hands shake when they write hereof. If they should say the Templars were burned wrongfully, they may be fetched over the coals themselves for charging his holiness so deeply; yea, hereby they bring so much innocent blood on the pope's head as is enough to drown him; some therefore in this matter know little, and dare speak less, for fear of afterclaps. Secondly, some who suspect that one eye of the church may be dim, yet hold that both

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the eyes, the pope and general council together, cannot be deceived. *Holy War*, B. v. C. ii.

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Tenterden Steeple

'Tenterden's steeple is the cause of the breach in Goodwin Sands.'

It is used commonly in derision of such who, being demanded to render a reason of some important accident, assign 'non causam pro causâ,' or a ridiculous and improbable cause thereof. And hereon a story depends.

When the vicinage in Kent met to consult about the inundation of Goodwin Sands, and what might be the cause thereof, an old man imputed it to the building of Tenterden steeple in this county; 'for those sands,' said he, 'were firm lands before that steeple was built, which ever since were overflown with sea-water.' Hereupon all heartily laughed at his unlogical reason, making that the effect in Nature, which was only the consequent in time; not flowing from, but following after, the building of that steeple.

But one story is good till another is heard. Though this be all whereon this proverb is generally grounded, I met since with a supplement thereunto. It is this. Time out of mind money was constantly collected out of this county to fence the east banks thereof against the eruption of the seas; and such sums were deposited in the hands of the bishop of Rochester. But, because the sea had been very quiet for many years, without any encroachings, the bishop commuted that money to the building of a steeple, and endowing of a church, in Tenterden. By this diversion of the collection for the maintenance of the banks, the sea afterwards brake in upon

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upon Goodwin Sands. And now the old man had told a rational tale, had he found but the due favour to finish it. And thus, sometimes, that is causelessly accounted ignorance in the speaker, which is nothing but impatience in the auditors, unwilling to attend the end of the discourse. *Worthies: Kent. Proverbs.*

Text and Context stand together

It is an act as easy as unjust, for one to assault a naked sentence, as it stands by itself, disarmed of the assistance of the coherence before and after it. All sentences (except they be entire and independent) have a double strength in them, one inherent, the other relative, and the latter sometimes greater than the former; when what in a sentence is doubtful, is explained; difficult, expounded; defective, supplied; yea, seemingly false, rendered really true by the connexion.

We read in the Life of St. Edward, that Harold, cupbearer to the king, chanced to stumble with the one foot, that he almost kissed the ground; but with the other leg he recovered himself: whereat his father Godwin, earl of Kent, (then dining with the king,) said, 'Now one brother doth help another;' to whom the king replied, 'And so might my brother have helped me, if it had so pleased you.'

Many times when one sentence in my book hath had a casual slip, the next to it, out of fraternal kindness, would have held it up, (in the apprehension of the reader,) from falling into any great error, had the Animadvertor so pleased; who uncharitably cutteth it

off

off from such support, so that one brother cannot help another; whilst he representeth mangled and maimed passages, to the disadvantage of the sense and writer thereof. Thus one may prove atheism out of scripture itself: 'There is no God.' But what went before? 'The fool hath said in his heart.'

The Appeal of Injured Innocence, Pt. 1. C. vi.

Theory and Practice

MANY who in England have learned the French tongue, and afterwards have gone over into France, have found themselves both deaf and dumb in effect, neither hearing to understand, nor speaking to be understood: they, in like manner, who frame to themselves in their studies a model of leading an army, find it as full of errors as rules, when it cometh to be applied; and a measure of war taken by book falleth out either too long or too short, when brought into the field to be used.

I have heard a story of a great mapmonger, who undertook to travel over England by help of his maps, without asking the least direction of any he met. Long he had not ridden but he met with a *non plus ultrà*, a deep unpassable gullet of water, without bridge, ford, or ferry. This water was as unknown to his Camden's or Speed's maps, as to himself; because it was neither body nor branch of any constant river or brook (such as only are visible in maps), but an extempore water, flowing from the snow which melted on hills. Worse unexpected accidents surprise those who conceive themselves to have conned all martial maxims out of authors, and warrant their skill in war against all events, out of their

great

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great reading; when on the sudden some unwonted occurrent taketh them unprovided, standing amazed till destruction seizeth on them. *Holy War*, B. v. C. xiv.

Time-serving

He is a good time-server that is pliant to the times in matters of mere indifferency.—To blame are they whose minds may seem to be made of one entire bone, without any joints. They cannot bend at all, but stand as stiffly in things of pure indifferency, as in matters of absolute necessity. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. xix. 4.

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Of all the extent of time, only the instant is that which we can call 'ours.' *Idem.*

Tobacco Pipes

The best for shape and colour (as curiously sized) are made at Amesbury in this county. They may be called chimneys portable in pockets, the one end being the hearth, the other the tunnel thereof. Indeed, at the first bringing over of tobacco, pipes were made of silver and other metals; which, though free from breaking, were found inconvenient, as soon fouled, and hardly cleansed.

These clay pipes are burnt in a furnace for some fifteen hours, on the self-same token, that if taken out half an hour before that time, they are found little altered from the condition wherein they were when first put in. It seems all that time the fire is working itself to the height, and doth its work very soon when attained to perfection.

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perfection. Gauntlet-pipes, which have that mark on their heel, are the best; and hereon a story doth depend.

One of that trade observing such pipes most saleable, set the gauntlet on those of his own making, though inferior in goodness to the other. Now the workman who first gave the gauntlet sued the other, upon the statute which makes it penal for any to set another's mark on any merchantable commodities. The defendant being likely to be cast (as whose counsel could plead little in his behalf) craved leave to speak a word for himself; which was granted. He denied that he ever set another man's mark; 'for the thumb of his gauntlet stands one way, mine another; and the same hand given dexter or sinister in heraldry is a sufficient difference.' Hereby he escaped; though surely such who bought his pipes never took notice of that criticism, or consulted which way the thumb of his gauntlet respected.

Worthies: Wilts.

Tombs

Tombs are the clothes of the dead. A grave is but a plain suit, and a rich monument is one embroidered. Most moderate men have been careful for the decent interment of their corpse. Few of the fond mind of Arbogastus, an Irish saint, and bishop of Spires in Germany, who would be buried near the gallows, in imitation of our Saviour, whose grave was in Mount Calvary, near the place of execution.

Holy State, B. iii. C. xiv.

Translators

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Translators

INDEED some decry all translators as interlopers, spoiling the trade of learning, which should be driven amongst scholars alone. Such also allege, that the best translations are works rather of industry than judgment, and (in easy authors) of faithfulness rather than industry; that many be but bunglers, forcing the meaning of the authors they translate, 'picking the lock when they cannot open it.'

But their opinion presents too much of envy, that such gentlemen who cannot repair to the fountain should be debarred access to the stream. Besides, it is unjust to charge all with the faults of some; and a distinction must be made amongst translators, betwixt coblers and workmen, and our Holland[1] had the true knack of translating. *Worthies: Warwick. Writers.*

Treason

TREASON will run up the steepest ascent where valour itself can scarce creep. *Holy War*, B. ii. C. 42.

Trifles

YEA, a toy may be real, and a point may be essential in the sense of some sentences, and worse to be spared than some whole letter. *Holy State*, B. iv. C. xvi. 12.

[1] Philemon Holland, M.D., of Coventry.

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True Value

In London-exchange, one shall over-buy wares who gives half the price at first demanded, so he that believeth the moiety of fame may believe too much. . . .

Yet virtues confessed by their foes, and vices acknowledged by their friends, are commonly true.

Holy State, B. iv. C. v. 10, 11.

Are Turks or Tartars more easily convertible to Christianity?

It is a pretty *quaere*, whether Turks or Tartars be easier convertible to the Christian religion: I mean *ex parte objecti;* for otherwise all things are equally easy to an infinite agent. Now it seemeth the Tartars are reducible with most facility to our religion; for pure Paganism and native infidelity, like white cloth, will take the tincture of Christianity; whereas the Turks are soiled and stained with the irreligious religion of Mahometanism, which first with much pains must be scoured out of them. And though they may seem to be in some forwardness to conversion, because they have a kind of knowledge and reverence of Christ, yet the best joint of their belief must be broken before it can be well set, and every drop of their present religion pumped out before true faith be infused into them. And experience, the most competent witness herein, hath proved, that afterwards more Tartars, both private men and princes, than Turks of either condition, have embraced Christianity.

Holy War, B. iv. C. 2.

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The Turkish Empire

But the lion is not so fierce as he is painted, nor this empire so formidable as fame giveth it out. The Turk's head is less than his turban, and his turban less than it seemeth; swelling without, hollow within. If more seriously it be considered, this state cannot be strong, which is a pure and absolute tyranny. His subjects under him have nothing certain but this, that they have nothing certain; and may thank the grand signior for giving them whatsoever he taketh not away from them. Their goods they hold by permission, not propriety; not sure that either they or theirs shall reap what they sow, or eat what they reap; and hereupon husbandry is wholly neglected; for the ploughman (as well as the ground he plougheth) will be soon out of heart, if not maintained and (as I may say) composted with hopes to receive benefit by his labours. Here great officers, if they love themselves, must labour not to be beloved; for popularity is high treason: and generally wealth is a sin to be expiated by death. In a word, it is a cruel tyranny, bathed in the blood of their emperors upon every succession; a heap of vassals and slaves; no nobles (except for time being, by office) no gentlemen, no freemen, no inheritance of land, no stirp or ancient families; a nation without any morality, arts, and sciences, that can measure an acre of land or hour of a day.

Holy War, B. v. C. xxx.

Twilight

Should our eyes be instantly posted out of midnight into noon-day, certainly we should be blinded with the suddenness

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suddenness and excellency of the lustre thereof. Nature therefore hath wisely provided the twilight, as a bridge, by degrees to pass us from darkness to light.

Ch. Hist. B. v. S. iv. 33.

Unhappiness no Proof of Unworthiness

ALL persons unhappy must not presently be accounted unworthy, especially in distracted times. Have you not heard of that humorous waterman on the Thames, who would carry none in his boat save such who would go along with the tide, till, by feeding his humour, he had almost starved himself for want of employment?

Worthies, Ch. xxv.

Various Sins, various Punishments

GOD inflicteth not the same punishment for all, but hath variety of correction. In his quiver some arrows are blunt, some sharp, and of these he draws some half way, some to the head. And the reason is, because there are divers degrees of men's sins: some sin out of ignorance, others out of knowledge; some out of infirmity, others of presumption; some once, others often; some at the seducing of others, others seduce others. God therefore doth not like the unskilful empirics, who prescribe the same quantity of the same recipe at all times, to all ages, tempers and diseases: but wisely he varieth his physic, few stripes to those that knew not his will, and many stripes for them who knew his will and did it not. Sometimes he shooteth halfe canon, weakness; sometimes full canon, sickness; sometimes murdering pieces, death itself.

Coll. Serm. Joseph's Party-coloured Coat, xv. 30.

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The Visitations of Magdalen College

WHAT shall I speak of learned Laurence Humphrey, painful John Fox, studious Michael Renniger, sweet-natured John Molins, archdeacon of Paul's, Arthur Saul, Peter Morvin, Hugh Kirke, and Luke Purifie, dear brethren in Christ, all at this time forced to forsake their college? So that then Magdalen wept indeed for the loss of so many worthies. All this extremity was executed by these visitors, not as yet empowered by law, the statutes of king Edward standing hitherto unrepealed. But some are so desirous to worship the rising sun, that, to make sure work, they will adore the dawning day; and many of the Oxford scholars thought Prolepsis the best figure in their grammar to foresee what the queen would have done, and to ingratiate themselves by ante-dating the doing thereof. *Ch. Hist.* B. viii. S. i. 8.

An Unmusical Voice

LORD, my voice by nature is harsh and untuneable, and it is vain to lavish any art to better it. Can my singing of psalms be pleasing to thy ears, which is unpleasant to my own? yet though I cannot chant with the nightingale, or chirp with the blackbird, I had rather chatter with the swallow, yea, rather croak with the raven, than be altogether silent. Hadst thou given me a better voice, I would have praised thee with a better voice. Now what my music wants in sweetness let it have in sense, singing praises with understanding. Yea, Lord, create in me a new heart (therein to make melody), and I will be contented with my old voice until in thy due time

time, being admitted into the choir of heaven, I have another, more harmonious bestowed upon me.

Good Thoughts. Personal Meditation, v.

Weeds

IMPOSSIBLE it is that all should be good herbs which grow in great gardens. *Pisgah Sight*, B. ii. C. xii. 3.

The Good Wife

HER clothes are rather comely than costly, and she makes plain cloth to be velvet by her handsome wearing it.—She is none of our dainty dames, who love to appear in variety of suits every day new, as if a good gown, like a stratagem in war, were to be used but once. But our good wife sets up a sail according to the keel of her husband's estate; and if of high parentage, she doth not so remember what she was by *birth*, that she forgets what she is by *match*. *Holy State*, B. i. C. i. iv.

Willows

A SAD tree, whereof such who have lost their love make their mourning garlands; and we know what exiles hung up their harps upon such doleful supporters. The twigs hereof are physic, to drive out the folly of children. This tree delighteth in moist places, and is triumphant in the Isle of Ely, where the roots strengthen their banks, and lop affords fuel for their fire. It groweth incredibly fast: it being a by-word in this county, 'that the profit by

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by willows will buy the owner a horse, before that by other trees will pay for his saddle.'

Worthies: Cambr. Natural Commodities.

Wiltshire

A PLEASANT county, and of great variety. I have heard a wise man say, that an ox left to himself would, of all England, choose to live in the north, a sheep in the south part hereof, and a man in the middle betwixt both, as partaking of the pleasure of the plain, and the wealth of the deep country. *Worthies: Wilts.*

Windows

LIGHT God's eldest daughter! is a principal beauty in a building.—Yet it shines not alike from all parts of heaven. An east window welcomes the infant beams of the sun, before they are of strength to do any harm, and is offensive to none but a sluggard. A south window in summer is a chimney with a fire in it, and needs the screen of a curtain. In a west window in summer-time, towards night, the sun grows low and over-familiar, with more light than delight. A north window is best for butteries and cellars, where the beer will be sour for the sun's smiling on it. Thorough lights are best for rooms of entertainment, and windows on one side for dormitories. *Holy State*, B. iii. C. vii.

Wit

ANY man may be witty in a biting way; and those who have the dullest brains have commonly the sharpest teeth

teeth to that purpose. But such carnal mirth, whilst it tickleth the flesh, doth wound the soul.

App. Inj. Inn, P. ii. B, ix. 180.

A Witch

At the first she is only ignorant, and very malicious.—She hath usually a bad face, and a worse tongue, given to railing and cursing, as if constantly bred on Mount Ebal; yet speaking, perchance, worse than she means, though meaning worse than she should. And as the harmless yapping of a cursed cur may stir up a fierce mastiff to the worrying of sheep; so, on her cursing, the devil may take occasion by God's permission to do mischief, without her knowledge, and perchance against her will. *Holy State*, B. v. C. 3.

Woman, and so, weak

Of the two sexes the woman is the weaker; of women, old women are most feeble; of old women, widows most woful; of widows, those that are poor, their plight most pitiful; of poor widows, those that want children, their case most doleful; of widows that want children, those that once had them and after lost them, their estate most desolate; of widows that have had children, those that are strangers in a foreign country, their condition most comfortless. *Ruth*, 1-5.

A Woman's reputation

There is a tree in Mexicana which is so exceedingly tender, that a man cannot touch any of his branches,

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but it withers presently. A lady's credit is of equal niceness; a small touch may wound and kill it; which makes her very cautious what company she keeps. The Latin tongue seems somewhat injurious to the feminine sex; for whereas therein *amicus* is 'a friend,' *amica* always signifies 'a sweetheart'; as if their sex, in reference to men, were not capable of any other kind of familiar friendship, but in way to marriage.

Holy State, B. iv. C. xiii. 12.

Wonder

WELL, let our admiration be given to God, seeing deliberate wondering (when the soul is not suddenly surprised) being raised up to an height is part of adoration, and cannot be given to any creature without some sacrilege. Such wondering consists of reverence and ignorance, which best becometh even the wisest of men, in their searches after God his ways. As for that unkind wondering, which melts not man's heart like wax into the praising of God, but clay-like hardeneth it unto stupefaction, 'Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish.' God keep all good men from being guilty thereof!

Worthies, Chap. ii.

Worcester

BE it here remembered, that the see of Worcester had nine bishops successively; whereof the four first, (being all Italians,) none of them lived there; the five last, (Latimer, Bell, Heath, Hooper, Pate,) none of them died there, as either resigning, removed, or deprived;

and

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and all five were alive together in the reign of Queen Mary.

Ch. Hist. B. ix. S. i. 16.

Work keeps men alive

LORD, I read of the two witnesses, And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. They could not be killed whilst they were doing, but when they had done their work; during their employment they were invincible. No better armour against the darts of death than to be busied in thy service. Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? No malice of man can antedate my end in a minute, whilst my Maker hath any work for me to do. And when all my daily task is ended, why should I grudge then to go to bed?

Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Scrip. Obs. 10.

Wotton under Weaver

'Where God came never.'

IT is time that this old profane proverb should die in men's mouths for ever. I confess, in common discourse, God is said to *come* to what he doth approve; to *send* to what he only permits; and neither to *go* nor *send* to what he doth dislike and forbid. But this distinction, if granted, will help nothing to the defending of this profane proverb, which it seems took its wicked original from the situation of Wotton, so covered with hills from the light of the sun, a dismal place, as report representeth it. But were there a place indeed where God came never, how many years' purchase would guilty consciences give

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for a small abode therein, thereby to escape Divine justice for their offences! *Worthies: Stafford. Proverbs.*

Writing and Living

How easy is pen and paper piety for one to write religiously! I will not say it costeth nothing, but it is far cheaper to work one's head than one's heart to goodness. Some, perchance, may guess me to be good by my writings, and so I shall deceive my reader. But if I do not desire to be good, I most of all deceive myself. I can make a hundred meditations sooner than subdue the least sin in my soul. Yea, I was once in the mind never to write more; for fear lest my writings at the last day prove records against me. And yet why should I not write? that by reading my own book, the disproportion betwixt my lines and my life, may make me blush myself (if not into goodness) into less badness than I would do otherwise. That so my writings may condemn me, and make me to condemn myself, that so God may be moved to acquit me. *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Mixt Contemp.* 25.

The Good Yeoman

THE good yeoman is a gentleman in ore, whom the next age may see refined; and is the wax capable of a genteel [gentle] impression, when the prince shall stamp it. Wise Solon (who accounted Tellus the Athenian the most happy man, for living privately on his own lands) would surely have pronounced the English yeomanry 'a fortunate condition,' living in the temperate zone betwixt greatness and want; an estate of people almost peculiar to England. France and Italy are like a die,

which

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which hath no points between cinque and ace,—nobility and peasantry. Their walls, though high, must needs be hollow, wanting filling-stones. *Holy State*, B. ii. C. xviii.

Zacharias

HARD by Emmaus, even at this day, are shown the ruins of Zacharias' house, where John the Baptist was born, being the voice of a crier (Mat. iii.) begotten of a dumb father. This was that Zacharias who would not believe God without giving him a sign, and was punished that men could not understand him, without making of signs. *Pisgah Sight*, B. ii. C. xiv. 26.

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